CARLETON ISLAND IN THE REVOLUTION.

THE OLD FORT

AND

ITS BUILDERS.

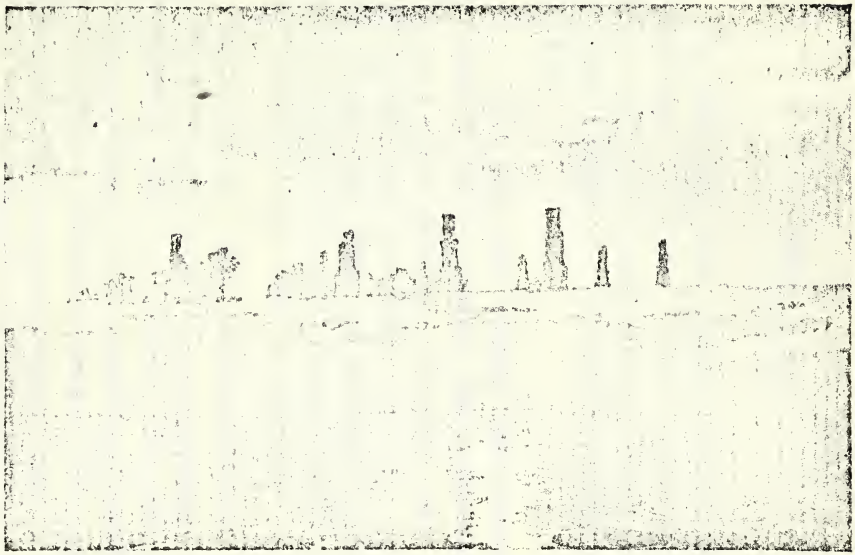
WITH NOTES AND BRIEF BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCHES.

By "CARLETON."

(J. H. DURHAM.)

CAPE VINCENT, N. Y.

SYRACUSE, N.
C. W. BARDEEN, P
1889.



RUINS OF FORT HALDIMAND.—The old chimneys, by moonlight.

PREFACE.

The object kept most steadily in view during the preparation of this little volume for the press has been to set at rest all speculation, of which so much has been indulged in, regarding the origin of the Old Fort.

It is true, that some, having the means within reach, had satisfied themselves; but by far the great majority of those who had visited the ruins knew nothing definite of their origin. How far the annotator of this little work has succeeded in clearing away the mists, which, in the average mind hung over them, he leaves to the reader to determine.

The "old letters" from which extracts are made, or which are printed in full, are to be found in the possession of Hon. J. P. Merritt, of St. Catharines, Ontario, to whom the writer is indebted for their use, and to whom he herewith renders his acknowledgements, not only for the privilege of copying them, but for the privilege of examining old French and English maps of the locality;—together with numerous volumes containing references to the question

under discussion. Mr. Merritt, himself a historian of much research, is Custodian of the Historical Society of whose treasures these letters form a part. In fact, a volume might be made of the correspondence emanating from "Buck," "Deer," and "Carleton Island,"—it being known by all of these names, —from 1774 to 1783; but only a few were selected, and only a part of those given in full. Several letters written at Carleton Island during the above mentioned period, or sent there from some other point, are now in the writer's possession. Of their genuineness there is no manner of doubt; and so far as they have been copied they are given *verbatim.*

The writer is also indebted to the late Dr. Hough's History of Jefferson County, N. Y., published in 1854; and also to his admirable little work entitled "The Thousand Islands of the St. Lawrence," published in 1880. He also acknowledges himself indebted in a large measure to Hadden's "Journal and Orderly Books," annotated by that able historian, Gen. Horace Rogers, of Providence, Rhode Island. Acknowledgements have already been expressed to Col. Wm. L. Stone, the annotator of "Johnson's Orderly Book," and other valuable historical works. It is but fair to state however, that the writer and annotator of this work had collected nearly all that he has here given some years previous to being fav-

ored with a sight of Dr. Hough's later works or Hadden's "Journal and Orderly Books." In fact, a less comprehensive work was prepared for the press several years ago, but was not published; and now in offering this work to the public it is hoped that its contents will not be found wholly uninteresting.

The engravings in illustration of the Old Fort are from pen drawings made by Prof. N. A. Wells, of the University, and now Principal of the School of Art, Cleveland, O., from pencil sketches by the author.

THE ANNOTATOR.

CAPE VINCENT, N. Y., *July* 8, 1889.

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The Old Fort, and its Builders.

CHAPTER I.

INTRODUCTORY. WHAT OTHERS HAVE WRITTEN ABOUT IT, WITH VARIOUS SPECULATIONS, THEORIES, AND ASSUMPTIONS. A MINGLING OF FACT AND FICTION.

FOR more than half a century, the traveler on the River St. Lawrence by way of the American channel has not failed to notice a group of stone chimneys, standing on the bluff at the head of Carleton Island. Inquiry, or perchance an examination, disclosed the fact that the greater portion of these old chimney stacks stood within an elaborately fortified enclosure, of which the outlines are not only distinct, but in a degree, quite perfect; so much so, that the plan is readily determined, the system identified, its armament adjudged, its magazines and barracks located, and in short, its whole scope, object and intent, made reasonably plain.

The inquiries which naturally followed these observations:—When were these elaborate works built, and by whom? What is their history? Where can one find an account of them?, remained unanswered. No one knew. The oldest inhabitant of the adjoining village of Cape Vincent knew nothing of their origin beyond the merest conjecture; notwithstanding the fact, that where the "Old Fort" stands is the oldest settlement in his town. At times, a little ripple of interest would be stirred by some newspaper article, or perchance a magazine writer would embody the local legends concerning it in a readable article and give them to the public; but after all, it was incomplete and unsatisfying to one who possessed any desire to delve into the history of the past, and unearth the antiquities of long ago.

That these old ruins had not reached a period when they were to be really classed with antiquities was evident enough, but the desire to know their origin, was, at least, akin to the antiquarian feeling; and hence, almost every one who saw them became more or less possessed of a desire to know more of their origin. It was astonishing, too, that so little was known of them. It was incomprehensible how such an elaborate work could have drifted from out all human knowledge save that of conjecture. But so it was. French and English authors were silent on the

subject, nor did the archives of either nation so far as known, or those of the United States, throw any certain light upon the subject. Even the Colonial History of New York, within the borders of which State the ruins are, failed to give any clew; and yet to them the searcher naturally turned for information.

In view of the mystery surrounding the Old Fort, what wonder that the people generally attributed to them great age? It grew to be an established fact in the mind of most people, that they were erected sometime during the last century; and some went back to the time of Count Frontenac in 1696, and attributed the building to Capt. Sieur du Luth, an officer serving under that nobleman; but a careful reading of Count Frontenac's expedition against the Onondagas, in the last days of July, 1696, as found in the Colonial History above mentioned, shows that idea to be untenable. Then, too, numerous relics had been found in the vicinity of the fort; buttons, brooches, and belt-plates had been ploughed up; coins had been found; but it was chiefly the numbers and devices on the buttons which seemed to set at rest the mooted question as to the nationality of the troops who once occupied the grounds. These were unmistakably English. The ornaments found were evidently portions of some Indian finery, and proved nothing; and although most of the coins

found were English, French coins were not entirely wanting, and hence by these relics nothing was proven.

In common with everyone else, the annotator of this little volume, on seeing the ruins for the first time had his curiosity greatly aroused; and like everyone else, made many inquiries, only to experience a disappointment great in proportion to his intense desire to learn the secret. He did not for a moment believe that a work of this seeming importance, and costing the outlay in money this must have cost, garrisoned as it must have been, armed as it undoubtedly was, could utterly pass into oblivion, leaving no record in the archives of the nation or government by whose orders it was constructed. He not only believed that there was a record somewhere, but he determined to find it if possible. A fortunate circumstance brought this about sooner than he expected, and herein is grouped the evidences which he firmly believes will satisfy the patient reader.

Before bringing forward the said evidences, however, it is deemed best to lay before the reader everything of importance that has before been written on the subject, which is really but very little, considering the interest which it has aroused from time to time. No seeker after the true history of the Old

Fort, was more persistent in his researches than the late Dr. Hough, of Lowville; who finally succeeded in solving the problem so nearly that but little more remained to be done. In his "History of Jefferson County, N. Y." published in 1854, Dr. Hough gives everything he had been able to ascertain up to that time. That, and what has been written by two or three others, really pertinent to the question, will be laid before the reader. It is fair to say, however, that Dr. Hough, writing of Carleton Island, or rather of the Old Fort in 1854, and again thirty years later, differs materially. He says: "The most interesting relics of the olden time within the county, are the ruins of Fort Carleton, on Carleton or Buck's Island, called by the French *Isle aux Chevreuils*, about three miles from Cape Vincent, and in the middle of the south channel of the St. Lawrence. The island when first discovered by our settlers, was partly cleared; it has an undulating surface, is composed of Trenton limestone and is very fertile.

"The surface near its head, where the fort is situated, rises by an easy grade to a spacious plain fifty feet above the river, which was precipitous in front, and overlooked a small peninsula but little elevated above the water, and affording on each side of the isthmus safe and ample coves for the anchorage of boats. On a point of this land the government is about to construct a lighthouse.[1]

"The area under the hill was completely protected by the works on the heights above, and from its great fertility afforded an abundance of culinary vegetables for the garrison. Traces occur showing that cannon were planted on conspicuous points, and the trace of a submerged wharf is still seen, as are also wrecks of vessels in the bottom of the river adjacent. In the rear of the works may be seen the cemetery; but time has defaced the inscriptions upon the headstones, except the following: '*J. Farrar, D. F.*[illegible] 1792.'*

"Forty years ago, carved oaken planks were standing at many of the graves. Several chimneys occur outside of the intrenchment and on the peninsula in front of the fort. About a dozen still stand within the works, which are built of stone, in a permanent and massive manner, the flues being very small, and the bases enlarged and well founded. Near the brow of the hill is a circular well about ten feet in diameter, and supposed to be at least as deep as the level of the river, but being partly filled with rubbish, this could not be determined. Here are also excavations supposed to be for magazines.

"The plan of the fort shows it to be after the system of Vauban,[2] and forms three-eighths of a circle of about 800 feet diameter; the abrupt face of the hill,

* [Even this has long since disappeared.—ED.]

which was doubtless protected by a stockade not requiring those defences which were furnished to the rear. The ditch is excavated in rock, is 4 feet deep, and 22 feet wide. The covered way is 24 feet wide, the counterscarp vertical, the outer parapet 4 feet high, and the glacis formed of materials taken from the ditch.

"The rampart within the ditch, was of earth, and is very much dilapidated. Ravelins were made before each re-entrant angle, and at the alternate salient angles, bastions were so placed as to command the fort and its various approaches very effectually. No knowledge is derived from settlers of the character, the work, or the number or size of the enclosed buildings, except that a range of wooden block-houses within the intrenchment was occupied by a corporal's guard, and a few invalids. The premises had fallen into decay, and were entirely without defensive works; a few iron cannon were lying on the beach or under water near the shore, and the gates had been robbed of their hinges for the iron, which had been pawned by the soldiers. The premises have at all times furnished a great abundance of relics among which were coins, buttons, etc., whose inscriptions and devices without exception indicate an English origin, and a period not earlier than the French war. The figures, 60, K, 8, V, IX, 34, 22, 29,

84, 21, 31, etc., which occur on the buttons found, often accompanied by the devices of the thistle, anchor, etc., doubtless designated the regiments to which their wearers belonged.

"On the declaration of war, the guard was surprised and captured without resistence; the buildings burned, and never after used as a fort. The state reserved the island for its supposed importance in a military point of view in their sale to Macomb. In 1796, the surveyors of this purchase found a corporal and three men in charge, and there were four long twelve-, and two six-pound cannon mounted. But little is said by historians and travellers of this place, as it appears never to have been the theater of events that gave interest to the former, and was not in the channel commonly taken by regular vessels, and therefore seldom visited by the latter.

"The Duke de la Rochefoucauld Liancourt mentions it as follows: 'During the American war, the British troops were constantly in motion, and in later times they were quartered in an island which the French call *Isle aux Chevreaux*,[3] and which the English have named Carleton, after Lord Dorchester.' The island had been known to the French by this name from an early period, and it is mentioned as one of the stopping places of Count Frontenac in his expedition against the Onondagas, as follows:

'On the 26th [July, 1696], they took their departure, and encamped at Deer Island (Isle aux Chevreuils); the scouts marching continually ahead of the army. Sieur de Luth, captain, was left in the fort (Frontenac) as commandant, with a garrison of forty men, and masons and carpenters necessary for the buildings which he was recommended to hasten. There remained only twenty-six sick in the fort, most of whom were wounded in the legs ascending the rapids. On the 27th they got to within three leagues of the *Riviere de la Famine* [Black River] and on the 28th to the mouth of that of Onnontague.'

"This station was used by the English during and after the revolution, and garrisoned by invalid troops. It was an important post, as it commanded the navigation of the south channel of the St. Lawrence, while Kingston controlled the other. Although the French had ceased to command in Canada, yet their memory was cherished with affection by the savages, who continued to receive presents and be influenced by the French in Louisiana and their western posts. Policy, therefore, dictated that this place should be kept up against any time of danger that might arise. Having carefully examined every author within reach, both English and French, we have been unable to ascertain the precise time of the erection of this fort. It certainly did not exist before 1758, as it

does not occur in any of the lists of stations previous to that period."

In conclusion, Dr. Hough refers to a manuscript document preserved in the archives of Albany, which he thinks "throws light upon the subject." This manuscript, it appears, was drawn up in November, 1758, by the Marquis de Vaudreuil, then governor of Canada, on the defenses of that country, and which was submitted to the Marquis de Montcalm who gave it his approval. It was to the effect that a force of 1500 men should be sent to erect a post at the head of the St. Lawrence, after the plans of M. de Fontleroy, a distinguished military engineer of that period, was to be the center of military operations instead of Frontenac, or any one of that group of islands lying in the Bay of 'Niohoure,'* to the right of the entrance to the St. Lawrence river; because the English might enter the St. Lawrence without being seen from those places.'

It was to be an extensive work susceptible of defense by an army; a fleet was to be built, and in short, it was to become the grand military and naval rendezvous for the whole frontier. The Chevalier de Levy, one of the most efficient military engineers

* The Bay of "Niohoure," called also "Niauern," and "Nivernois," embraced *Isle aux Chevreuils* [Roe-buck] now Grenadier, and *Renard* [Fox] islands, and all that group of islands lying to the right as one sails from Oswego to the entrance of the St. Lawrence.—ED.

of his time, was to take charge of the work. There are, however, no records to show that such a work was ever begun, and it is highly improbable that the matter ever went farther than the Marquis de Vaudreuil's able paper, and Montcalm's 'entire approval.' Certainly Carleton Island could not have been chosen, because it fails to answer the requirements; and in fact there is no single point "at the head of the St. Lawrence," which commands both channels, or which would answer all the specifications of the Marquis de Vaudreuil's paper; and it is extremely probable that a thorough examination showed this to be the fact, and hence the project was abandoned. Besides this, had a work of such extent and importance been completed, it would have inevitably superseded Frontenac, as was, indeed, intended; and would have become a place of so much importance, that its history could never have been so entirely lost sight of, as it seems that of the supposed French fort on Carleton Island has been. Before entering upon a brief analysis of the various hypotheses advanced by different writers upon the origin of the Old Fort, and of the authorities upon which they are based, we will give an extract from a foot note on page 64 of "Johnson's Orderly Book," a most ably annotated, and intensely interesting history of the expedition against Fort Stanwix [Rome], in 1777.

commanded by St. Leger. The annotator, Col. William L. Stone, is the author and editor of several interesting and valuable contributions to American history, and on the subject of Carleton Island he writes as follows:

"In passing on the steamboat down the St. Lawrence river from Cape Vincent, the tourist will observe a number of stacks of old brick chimneys, [stone chimneys] standing near the shore upon the left side, which are upon 'Buck Island.' The inhabitants near it have always affected a great mystery in regard to these fortifications, but, in truth, there is no mystery about them. Bouchette, in his *History of Canada*, published in 1815, states that Carleton Island was converted into a large magazine or depot for military supplies and a general rendezvous in 1774-75, by the British government. in anticipation of trouble with her American colonies. We should infer, even if Rochefoucault de Liancourt did not say so expressly, that the name of the island was changed to Carleton in honor of that general, who was then in command of Canada. The stacks of chimneys still to be seen, are probably the remains of those 'ovens' to which the Orderly Book refers, in which the bread for the troops was baked. The English government reserved this island in its sale to Macomb; and, in 1796, a corporal and three men were in

charge. The island, however, had evidently been fortified by the French many years before 1774, the time spoken of by Bouchette; for Count Frontenac mentions it as one of his stopping-places in 1696, in his expedition against the Onondagas, at which time Captain du Luth was left on the island with a garrison of forty men, masons, etc., with orders to 'complete the fort.'" In the opening of the next chapter the reader's attention is called to a brief review of Col. Stone's inaccuracies.

[1] [As an evidence of the promptness and rapidity with which governments attend to those things which are really beneficial to a large class of a community, and also where great interests are involved, it may be stated that the "lighthouse about to be constructed" at that time—1853—is not yet begun; nor is there any greater evidence to show that it will ever be built, than there was at that time.—ED.]

[2] [The system or rather systems on which the Old Fort is constructed are Vauban's "Third System" modified by Cormontaigne's, with here and there a trace of curious clinging to the "Old English system." An accurate plan of the Fort correctly drawn from recent surveys, and a full description will be found elsewhere.—ED.]

[3] Francois Alexandre La Rochefoucauld Liancourt, a French Duke, and a distinguished philanthropist, was born in 1747, and died in 1827. [Hough's "Thousand Islands," page 117.]

Rochefoucauld Liancourt, because of his adherence to the fortunes of Louis XVI. was forced to fly from France at the beginning of the French Revolution, and spent several years in

England and America. His notes of voyages and travel in America from 1795 until nearly the close of 1797, possess much interest, especially those portions which relate to the St. Lawrence, and the country adjacent. Speaking of Kingston, and incidentally of Carleton Island, he says: "The barracks are built on the site of Fort Frontenac, which was built by the French and leveled by the English. The latter built these barracks about six years ago.* During the American war their troops were constantly in motion; and in later times they were quartered on an island which the French call *Isle aux Chevereux*, [Goat Island] and the English have named 'Carleton,' after Lord Dorchester."†

In another reference to Carleton Island, the distinguished author says:

"The celebrated Jemima Wilkinson,‡ thought of removing

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* [This account was written in 1795, and hence the barracks at Kingston were erected in 1789; about the time of the partial evacuation of Fort Haldimand, on Carleton Island.—ED.]

† [This statement, already quoted in the foregoing chapter, is conclusive evidence that in calling it "Buck Island," and "Deer Island," the English made an error, probably through a lack of knowledge of the French language, or a misunderstanding as to the name used. A careless listener might easily mistake *Chevereaux* for *Chevreuils*. Even Sir Frederick Haldimand himself, calls it *Cheverents*. However the error came about, as no occasion arose which seemed to make its correction necessary it was perpetuated, and thus gave rise to many incorrect statements, surmises and speculations, besides leading map-makers astray and puzzling historians. This error pointed out, the rest becomes plain.—ED.]

‡ The following account of Jemima Wilkinson, gives us reason to rejoice that Carleton Island did not become the scene of her exploits, nor the home of her community.

"The notorious Jemima Wilkinson was born in Cumberland, Rhode Island, in 1753, and died at Jerusalem, Yates county, N. Y., July 1st, 1819 She was educated as a Quaker, but finally became a pronounced fanatic.

her family and establishment from Bluff Point on Crooked Lake, N. Y., and of settling on Carleton Island on the Lake Ontario, where she would enjoy the satisfaction of living under the English Government, which, by her account, had proffered her a grant of land."

When twenty years of age, she had a severe attack of fever and for some time life seemed to be suspended. When restored to animation, she professed to have been raised from the dead, and pretended to work miracles.

"She gained many followers, and held them in close subjection, insisting upon the Shaker doctrine of celibacy. She assumed the name of Universal Friends, and was always accompanied by two witnesses, Sarah Richards, and Rachel Miller. In her religious meetings she adopted Shaker forms. She was very attractive in person and exceedingly shrewd. In 1786, her followers resolved to form a colony in what is now the town of Torrey, Yates Co., N. Y. In 1789, 14000 acres of land were purchased to which the town of Jerusalem was afterward added. The sect was entirely broken up at her death." [See Am. Cyc., p. 626.]

CHAPTER II.

SOME OF THE STATEMENTS AND THEORIES CONSIDERED.

EXTRACTS FROM FATHER CHARLEVOIX'S LETTER.

WHAT LOSSING SAYS.

IN the extract which closes the previous chapter, Col. Stone, contrary to all his previous records, has indulged in something closely akin to careless writing; or, at all events, he has not shown that perspicacity so plainly discoverable in his writings generally. As we have already hinted, the chimneys were built of stone; and from the fact that each chimney had double flues, and an ample fire place on opposite sides of its broad base, the conclusion is easily arrived at, that they were better calculated for heating barracks than baking bread. That this is what they were built for is well known from the fact that on the breaking out of the war of 1812, a party of Americans captured the places and burned the barracks; leaving nothing to mark the place where they stood excepting the chimney stacks.[1] Besides, who-

ever remembers the old "Dutch" oven of our grandmother's days, will see at once that it did not need a chimney two and a half feet square and twenty feet high to serve as a flue. Three or four piles of brick rubbish in different parts of the grounds in and around the Old Fort, clearly indicate the number of ovens there; and three good-sized ovens were amply sufficient to bake bread for double St. Leger's entire force; while there were at one time over twenty huge chimney stacks standing. The oven theory is untenable.

Now let us examine the Count Frontenac theory, briefly. It rests on an error, and that error was made by the English. The truth is, that the French never named the island *Isle aux Chevreuils,* but the English supposed they did, and hence they first called it "Buck Island," and afterward "Deer Island." The French named the island *Isle aux Chevereaux*, [Goat Island], and the island at the head of the river now know as "Grenadier Island" was the one named *Isle aux Chevreuils* [Roe-buck Island]. This being the fact, Count Frontenac's statement is easily understood. His army started from Frontenac (Kingston) to reach the mouth of the river where Oswego now stands. They "encamped at 'Deer Island' *(Isle aux Chevreuils,)*" [now Grenadier Island.] Of course they did. It is directly on their route. Count

Frontenac would not have traveled twenty miles out of his way for the sake of encamping one night, while there were so many available islands along his line of march. This was on the 26th of July, 1696. "On the 27th, they got within three leagues of *Riviere de la Famine.*" [Black River.] The enclosure in brackets is Dr. Hough's, and is evidently an error; because in another place he says that the old French maps locate Famine river "inside of Six Town Point," which Point is several miles from Black river. In examining a copy of Sauthier's map,[2] engraved in London in 1779, showing the location of Famine river, the fact becomes evident that Sandy Creek, in the town of Ellisburg, is the stream meant.*

Had the second day's march begun at Carleton Island they could easily have reached Famine River, had Black River been the locality so known; but they only got to within "three leagues" of it, and the "next day," the 28th, they "reached the mouth of the *Onontague.*" This they could not have done, starting from Black River and coasting all the way, as in those days they were obliged to do. But starting from Grenadier Island, on the morning of the 27th, they could easily reach a point within three leagues of Sandy Creek, and their destination the next day.

* [Dr. Hough himself inclined to this opinion in after years.—Ed.]

There is now but little doubt as to the correctness of locating "Famine Island" and "Hungry Bay" at Sandy Creek, while the theory held at one time by many, that Henderson Bay was the locality known as "Hungry Bay," is no longer advocated.

Another fact, which has been overlooked by most writers upon this subject, is this. Black River Bay was known on the old French maps as the "Bay of Niohoure" or "Nivernois," and embraced in its extent all the islands lying in that part of Lake Ontario. Now some of those old maps show clearly that *Isle aux Chevreuil* lies in *Nivernois Bay*. Dr. Hough, on page 116, History of Jefferson County, 1854, relates that "One Patrick Colquhoun," in a letter to Wm. Constable (who at that time held an interest in the Macomb purchase)—dated London, June 4th, 1792, made a proposition to purchase several islands lying near the confluence of the lake and the river, and also in "Nivernois Bay;" among which he named *Chevruelle*, or *Roebuck Island*, and *Renard*, or *Fox Island*. Dr. Hough further remarks in a foot note on the same page, that "he" (Colquhoun) "supposed that it was Carleton island which was embodied in the contract." This supposition is a gratuitous one, from the fact that the islands, "*Roe-buck*" and "*Fox*" are contiguous, and within the supposed limits of "Nivernois Bay," while Carleton Island is nearly, or

quite, ten miles down the river, and beyond any such "supposition."

Col. Stone is also in error when he says: "The English government reserved this island in its sale to Macomb." Macomb's purchase was made from the land commissioners of the State of New York, and included the "islands in Lake Ontario and the St. Lawrence river, fronting the purchase; excepting Carleton and Long Sault islands," which were reserved by the State. We think that it may be fairly conceded that the error was made by the English in naming the wrong island "Buck" or "Deer" island; and from that mistake much misapprehension has arisen. Later on, however, we shall bring one more bit of testimony to bear on this point. As a sort of corroborative testimony, as well as from its general interest we take the liberty to introduce here some extracts from Father Charlevoix's letter to the Dutchess of Lesdiguieres, dated at the "Bay of Famine, 16th May, 1721." Father Charlevoix was a Jesuit Father who visited the French colonies of North America by order of the French King in 1720 and 1721. He writes: "I embarked on the 14th, at precisely the same hour that I had arrived at the town of *Cataracouis.** I had but six leagues to go, to gain

* [Afterward named Frontenac, and now Kingston.—ED.]

the *Isle aux Chevreuils*,* where there is a fine port, which can receive large barques;† but my Canadians had not visited their canoe, off which the sun had melted the pitch in many places, so that it let in water at every point, and we were compelled to lose nearly two hours for repairs in one of the islands at the outlet of Lake Ontario. We sailed thence at ten o'clock in the morning, without being able to reach Isle au Chevreuil, and were forced to spend the night very unpleasantly. * * * I left yesterday at an early hour, and at eleven in the morning stopped at the Galloo Islands, three leagues from Deer Island, at 43½ degrees of latitude. I re-embarked a little after noon and accomplished a voyage of a league and a half to reach *Point de la Traverse;* If I had coasted along the main land to this place, from where I passed the night, I should have had more than forty leagues to make, and should have been obliged to take this course had not the lake been calm; for when it is agitated, the waves are as great as on the open sea. It is not even possible to coast along when the wind is blowing off the shore.‡ From the point of Galloo Islands we can see to the west the river

* [Observe, that Carleton Island is nine leagues by water from "Frontenac," while Grenadier Island is but the "six leagues" mentioned by Charlevoix, and is also his "three leagues from the "Galloo Islands."—Ed.]

† [Basin Harbor, Grenadier Island.—Ed.]

‡ [Evidently an error. On shore was no doubt meant.—Ed.]

Chouoguen, otherwise called the *Onontague*, which is distant fourteen leagues. As the lake was tranquil with no appearance of foul weather, and a gentle breeze was blowing from the east which barely filled our sail, I resolved to steer direct for this river with the view of saving fifteen or twenty leagues of circuit. My attendants, more experienced than I, deemed *the attempt hazardous*, but in complaisance yielded to my advice. * * * We steered off then large, and in four hours found ourselves in a place we repented; for the wind arose suddenly, and we heartily wished ourselves near the shore. We turned toward the nearest, from which we were still three leagues distant, and had much difficulty in reaching it. At length at seven o'clock in the evening, we landed in the *Bay of Famine*, thus named from the Marquis de la Barre, the governor general of New France, losing nearly all his army by hunger and sickness, in going to war with the Iroquois." * * * These extracts need no comment.

Lossing, in his "Field Book of the Revolution" makes no mention whatever of the Old Fort at Carleton Island; but in his "Field Book of the War of 1812," after having spent a couple of hours perhaps, in a personal inspection of the ruins, he jumps at the following conclusion. "The English found it quite a strongly fortified post at the conquest of Can-

ada, at a little past the middle of the last century, and perceiving its value in a military point of view (for it commands the main channel of the St. Lawrence), they greatly strengthened it." [See "Lossing's Field Book of the War of 1812," P. 569.] It is needless to say that the above statement, unsupported as it is, by any evidence whatever, is pure assumption. There is no proof whatever, that the French ever occupied the island as a permanent trading post even, to say nothing of military occupation, of which there is not the slightest trace of evidence, but there are many reasons why they should not have so used it.[4] But of these, more hereafter.

In the next chapter we bring to the notice of the reader, some of the links in the chain of evidence, which finally show conclusively, when and by whom, the Old Fort was erected and by whose orders.

[1] Abner Hubbard, who at that time resided at Hubbard's Bay,—now known as Millen's Bay, or "Riverview,"—together with some of his neighbors, as soon as they heard of the declaration of war, went over to the island at night and took possession of the fort. The entire garrison consisted of three decrepit old soldiers and two old women. It is needless to say, that the garrison was completely surprised, and surrendered without firing a gun. It was marched immediately to Sacketts Harbor, and delivered into the hands of the military authorities to be dealt with according to the laws and usages of war. Hubbard, and his army, which tradition says consisted of "two men and a

boy," have always been credited with having burned the barracks; but this is denied by relatives of Hubbard now living. It is said that a party of soldiers came over from Kingston, burned the barracks and entirely dismantled the fort.—ED.

[2]A copy of La Hontan's map, much older than Sauthier's and drawn much nearer by many years to the actual occurrence which gave the name,—that of the unfortunate expedition of de Le Barre,—and therefore more likely to be accurate, lies before me; and the position of "Famine River" as there located is so plain, that it leaves no doubt whatever that Sandy Creek, in the town of Ellisburg, is the true locality. With all the facts before us, it is incomprehensible how at any time Black River could have been thought indentical with "La Famine," or "Henderson Harbor" with "Hungry Bay."—ED.

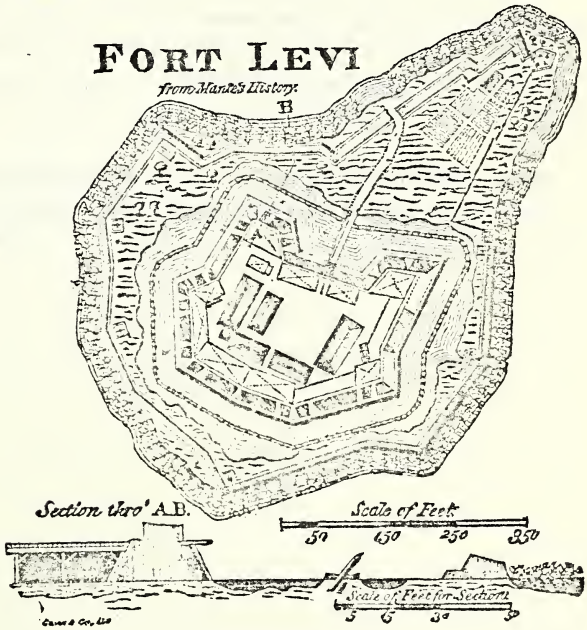
[3] [Catorocui,—later orthography, Cataraqui. It has been a matter of speculation as to the origin of the word, and whether it was the name of a tribe of Indians known as the Cataraquis, or whether it was the designation of a large extent of country, or both; and as yet I have been unable to solve the questiou. In the winter of 1885, while delving among some old books on the shelves of the city library in Oswego, N. Y., I picked up a fragment of an old book having neither cover, title page, nor date. In fact several pages of the first part of the book were missing, and how many of the final pages were gone I cannot tell. Be this as it may, a dissertation on the "Indian tribes of North America" attracted my attention, and the more, because I had received a letter from Col. Wm. L. Stone, the well-known historical writer, calling my attention to this subject.

The fragment in question bore the marks of great age, and was undoubtedly a translation from the French, and printed, probably in London. It would seem, however, that the writer had either

made some careful observations or had else indulged in some ingenious speculations. Speaking of the Iroquois, he gives their national boundary as at first extending from the Sorel River, to the Great Lakes, from thence to the Mississippi, east to the Santee River, and along the coast to the Hudson. He gives the original name as "Hirocouis." "Hiro," interpreted, means: "I have said it," while the common name applied to all the tribes within the boundaries named, was "Mingoes,"—"United people." The writer says also, that "couis" signifies "possessor," or "I possess," so that "Hiro-couis," would mean: "I have said it, I possess"; not a very unreasonable conclusion either for so powerful a tribe as the Iroquois once were to arrive at. It would seem also that at one time a very strong nation known as "Cats" occupied nearly the whole of Upper Canada or what is now the Province of Ontario, but in a war with the "Hiro couis" they were conquered, and themselves and their lands absorbed by their conquerors; and that they were afterwards known as "Cat Hiro couis," and in time as "Cataraquis," and that ever after, the boundary of the Iroquois extended across the Great Lakes and far as Michilimacinac.

From the fact that Lake Ontario was once known as Cataraqui Lake, and the St. Lawrence as the Cataraqui river, and that several islands in the St. Lawrence bore the same name, it would seem that the cognomen was meant to indicate a large extent of country; but again, the naming of the first settlement by the French in Upper Canada, "Catorocui," would indicate a tribe of that name whose principal town was perhaps in that vicinity. On the whole, I am inclined to the belief that the term signifies: "The land of the 'Cataraquis'"; the lands conquered and possessed by the Iroquois. The "Cats," or "Kaws," Schoolcraft thinks, were a remnant of the "Eries."—ED.]

[" Isle Royal," an island in the St. Lawrence river a short distance below Ogdensburg (known in early days as La Presentation), was once the site of a strong fort, called " Fort Levis." The plan of the fort is plainly distinguishable to this day. It was a more extensive and more elaborate military work than that on Carleton Island, but did not possess the natural advantages of the latter.



It was occupied by the French for many years, but finally captured by Lord Amherst in 1760, after a severe engagement, in which the losses were great on both sides. The fort was commanded by M. Pouchot, an officer of distinction who defended it with great bravery and with signal ability. The French had long

looked for an attack upon that point, and more especially in the autumn of 1758, when small parties with swift canoes were stationed at various points among the Thousand Islands, to give prompt and early notice of the approach of an enemy. For this purpose a lookout of twelve men was sent to "Isle aux Chevereux," [Goat Island; called by the English, "Buck," "Deer," and lastly Carleton Island], from Fort Frontenac [Kingston], from which point they were occasionally relieved, until it became evident that no attack would be made that year." These facts are gleaned from M. Pouchot, who has left a very complete, as well as accurate account of the St. Lawrence river and its vicinity.

It may be further added here, that the above is the only record as yet discovered, of any French occupation of the island whatever.—ED.]

CHAPTER III.

LINKS IN THE CHAIN. EXTRACTS FROM OLD LETTERS. MILITARY ORDERS IN '76. A MODEL LETTER OF INTRODUCTION. ORDERS TO A SEA CAPTAIN.

WE now beg leave to introduce to the notice of the reader a Col. Christie, "Quarter Master General of His Majesty's Forces," in and *en route* to America, through the medium of an order to his clerk, a Mr. Francis Goring, whose name will often appear in these pages.

This document, except perhaps being a trifle more gentlemanly in its tone, differs but little, under the circumstances, from what would be a similar order issued by a Quartermaster General of to-day. These extracts are given *verbatim et literatim.* The order is as follows:

"*Sir.*

You will proceed on board the Speak [*Speke*] *Hospital Vessel, and take with you what artificers you find ready at Deptford, and by the order herewith given, you*

will procure a passage to Corke, afterward to be continued or changed as the service will permit.

You will inform yourself on your arrival at Corke, of the respective Artificers sent on board the transports Lucretia, Providence, Sarah, and Charming Sally, which, with those on board the Hospital ship, or any others who have been embarked or engaged by me as Quarter Master General for the service of Canada, [*and*] *let them be divided when they sail from Corke in two vessels, or three vessels; that is to say, proportionately; the ship Carpenters and Caulkers, as well as Sawyers; and if possible they should go on board of some of the four before-named transports which carry proportionately the stores belonging to the Quarter Master General's Department, on board of which you will also go yourself, and in case of any difficulties you will apply to the General or other officer commanding.*

Given under my hand at London, this 21*st day of March*, 1776.

G. CHRISTIE, Q. M. G.

You hav-- list annexed of the names of those I have already embarked as aforesaid, and a number more I expect by some of the transports from Glasgow, in which case you will take their names and dispose of them as above directed with the others."

To Mr. FRANCIS GORING.

It was not deemed necessary for our present purpose to copy the "list" of names mentioned above

although it was in the original order, and contained about sixty names of "artificers," destined principally to do duty with Burgoyne's army then organizing for the, to it, disastrous campaign of 1777.

The following letter was written also in London, to the same person, but dated the day before. It is, though somewhat unique, a model in some directions, and worth reading.

"*London, 20th March* 1776.

Sir.

I am informed by our friend Mr. Andrew Nicoll, that you are going out to Quebec, Clerk to Colonel Christie, and He being desirous for your well doing has requested me to give you the names of some persons of Character whom you may with credit and safety cultivate an acquaintance with, possibly to your mutual advantages. I therefore take the liberty to name the following gentlemen whom I have the honor to be known by, and whom I am certain will not misuse any confidence you may place in them, and will be ready to render you such service as I am persuaded you will merit; and I flatter myself that mentioning your being known and esteemed by me will not be in any way hurtful to you.

Mr. Tho's Aylwin,	*Mr. John Collins.*
Mr. Jn'o Lee.	*Mr. John Aitkin.*
Mr. Robert Wilcox.	*Mr. John Patterson.*

Mr. Peter Mills. *Mr. Peter Napier.*
Mr. Minott. *Mr. James Thompson.*
Mr. Fran's Anderson. *Mr. Lauclan Smith.*

I have the Honour also, to be known by Captain Carleton[1] *the Governor's Nephew who can assist you if your pursuits are Military. I sincerely wish you success.*

Sir, your well wishing Friend

JNO. GAWLOR.

Mr. FRANCIS GORING."

But Mr. Francis Goring chose to enter civil life, as we shall see hereafter; and preferred selling to shooting, and the yard stick to the musket; trading trinkets to the Indians for furs rather than fighting on the frontier.

The next is a brief letter from Col. Christie, and introduces to our notice a Mr. JOHN CLUNES. He was one of the above-mentioned artificers, and came to America in the same vessel with Mr. FRANCIS GORING. Mr. CLUNES will speak for himself later on, and verify some little scraps of history which were not fully established by our writers on the American Revolution.

"*London 25th March* 1776.

Sir.

You will please receive on board your vessel JOHN CLUNES and HENRY BOXLER, two Car-

penters engaged for his Majesty's Service and victual them as usual.

Your Most Humble Serv't,
G. CHRISTIE, Q. M. G."

" To Capt. WATCH,
Commanding the Speak
Hospital Ship, near
Graveshend, bound to Corke."

According to Bouchette, in his " History of Canada," already referred to, the first occupation of Carleton Island was by the English in 1774, and it is highly probable that Bouchette was right; as it was not until some time after Canada fell into the hands of the English that trading posts were established along the St. Lawrence and Lake Ontario, reaching in 1775 as far west as Detroit. Among the most prominent of these early traders, was Mr. James Robinson, who had a store at Fort Niagara at the mouth of the Niagara river; and who kept a factor on Deer Island to attend to the reshipment of his goods from that point,—where they were received by batteaux from Montreal—to Niagara. This factor clerk was Archibald Cunningham. It further appears from the perusal of an old letter written by Mr. Francis Goring, late in the autumn of 1776, dated at Niagara, that he became a clerk in the employ of Mr. Robinson, and later on he was Mr. Rob-

insons's principal business manager, and eventually bought out his employer, who returned to England in 1781 or 1782.

The following extracts are from letters written by Mr. Archibald Cunningham, stationed at Deer Island, to Mr. Francis Goring, at Niagara. They are introduced here for two reasons; the principal one being to establish the date as near as practicable, when the name of the island was changed from "Deer" to "Carleton"; and to bring out some interesting incidents of those times. Naturally, when the English made of Carleton Island a sort of naval station, they kept a small garrison there, and from the following letter such appears to have been the case.

"*Sir.*

At Capt. Montpensen's, our Command'ts desire, who finds it absolutely necessary to have an assortment of Indian Goods at this post, please pack up and send me down with the first conveyance, 50 *lbs. Powder,* 100 *Balls,* 50 *lbs. Shott,* 100 *Flints,* 50 *Gun Screws,* 3 *lbs. Vermilion, Piece coarse Linen, Needles and Thread,* 30 *pair Mogozeens* [*Moccasins*], 8 *Carrots of Tobacco, and charge the same to Indian Department. The Haldimand has entirely cleared the Ground, both of King's stores, and Merchant Goods but has none of ours on board, and I don't*

expect any to come up till the vessels arrive from England of which we have as yet no accounts.

I am Dr. Sir your most Obed't Serv't,

ARCH'D CUNNINGHAM."

Deer Island,
1st June, 1778.

"*P. S. There are upwards of* 40 *Canoes of Indians on the ground at present having come in the other day; two small partys are now singing their war songs to go on a scouting party to Fort Stanwix* [*Rome*] *and the remainder wait for their presents.*"

It appears from many other sources that Carleton Island was a place of general rendezvous for those tribes friendly to the English, and that there is where they assembled to receive their presents, don their war-paint, and set forth on their marauding expeditions against the defenceless outlying settlements of New York,

Here is an extract from another letter, which carries us to the 18th of July, 1778.

"*Sir.* * * * *I expected to have the pleasure of being with you last trip, but being by Mr. Robinson's direction to return on notice of the Fleet's arrival at Quebec,* * * * *I am unhappily disappointed. As for News, I Can't inform you of any more, than that there is no French War, and that Gen. Haldimand*[2] *has arrived with a*

small body of troops to succeed Gen. Carleton,[3] *who goes home. Expecting to hear of your well being :*

I am Dr. Sir, your Most Humble
Serv't.
ARCH'D CUNNINGHAM."

D. Island.
18th July 1778.
To Mr. Goring.

Another written on the last day of the month, says:

(Extract.)

"*Sir.* * * * * *There is almost the certainty of a French war, and what is worse, nothing but discord reigning among the British Ministry. Hoping in my next to give you a better information of the times,*"

I am, Dr. Sir, Yours most sincerely,
ARCH'D CUNNINGHAM.

D. Island 31*st July*
1778. *To Mr. Goring.*

The next extract carries us forward to the 25th of August of the same year, but we hear nothing more of the expected "French war."

(Extract.)

"*Dear Sir.* * * * *I received your agreeable favor of the* 15*th with the very acceptable supplies which came so opportunely.* * * * *I shall take the Liberty to trouble you for a recruit of Pork and pease.*

* * * *Not the least news stirring here only we hear the Yankees are coming to Detroit by Illinois.*

I am Dear Sir yours most Obed'tly

ARCH'D CUNNINGHAM.

Deer Island 25th August
1778. *To Mr. Goring.*

P. S. Please send me a supply of paper, Am entirely out. Comd'r Grant, will deliver Mr. Robinson the £100 of Le Parlow, in place of Capt. Baker.

A letter from Mr. Cunningham to Mr. Goring, written October 22d, 1778, is dated at "Carleton Island." It is evident then, that the change of name from "Deer" to "Carleton" took place between the 25th of August and the 22d of October, 1778. After speaking of having news of an engagement between the British and French fleets, Mr. Cunningham says:

(Extract.)

"*Sir.* * * * *There is also certain advice of the taking one, and destroning two capital Rebel Frigates, which is the most that is done this Campaign, at least that we can hear of.*

I am Dear Sir Yours most Sincerely

ARCH'D CUNNINGHAM.

Carleton Island
22d Oct. 1778.
To Mr. Goring.

By the above date it will be seen that the change of name is narrowed to a period of thirty-six days, in the autumn of 1778; and the next letter, which is given entire, pretty effectually drives the nail home, and in reality settles the question.

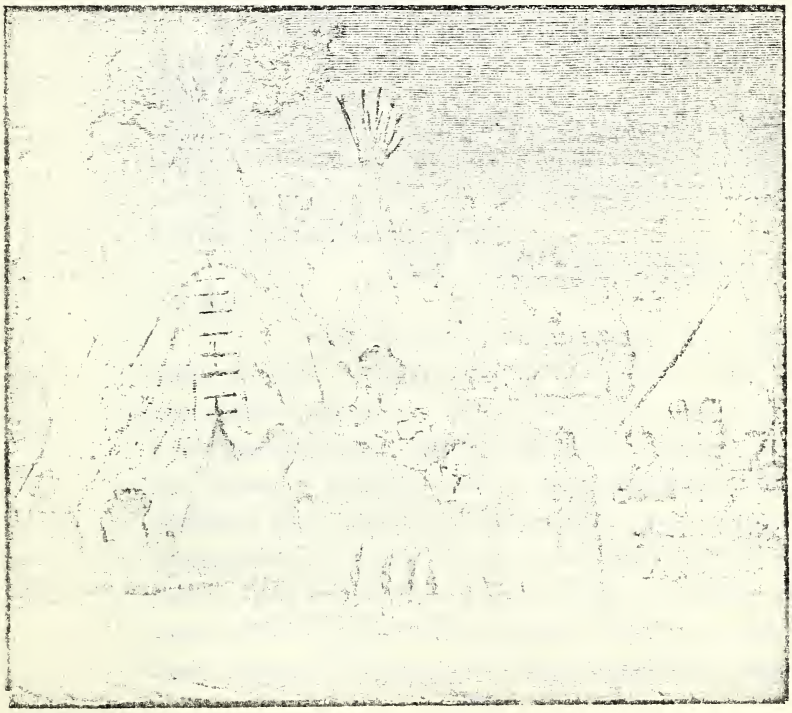
[1] Capt. Christopher Carleton was a nephew of Sir Guy Carleton, being the son of Sir Guy's eldest brother William, a captain of the 18th, or Royal Irish Regiment of Foot, who with his wife, the mother of Christopher, was drowned at sea in 1753. Christopher was born at Newcastle upon Tyne, in 1749, and entered the British Army as ensign in 1761, in the 31st Foot. In 1763, he was promoted to a lieutenancy; to be captain lieutenant in 1770; captain in 1772; and major of the 29th, in 1777. He was appointed an aid on the staff of his uncle, in May, 1776, and served in Canada during the Revolutionary war. He became a lieutenant-colonel in the army, Feb. 19, 1783, and died at Quebec, June 14, 1787.

[2] Gen. Sir Frederick Haldimand was born in Switzerland, and also died there. His first military service was in the Prussian army, but subsequently he entered the British service with Gen. Bouquet. He was promoted to be Lt. Col. of the 60th "Royal Americans" and came to America in 1757. He served with distinction in America, and in 1775, we find him in England giving the Ministry information regarding the colonies. He returned to America in 1776, with the rank of Lieut. Gen. He succeeded Sir Guy Carleton, as Governor-general of Canada, in 1778, and held that office until 1784. He returned to Switzerland and died in 1791.

[3] Guy Carleton was born at Strabane, Ireland, Sept. 3d, 1724. He began his military career at a very early age, gaining the

rank of lieutenant-colonel in the army in 1757. In 1758 he was assigned to duty with the 72 Reg't and the next year accompanied Wolfe to Quebec as his Quarter Master General, being at the same time promoted to the rank of colonel, in "America only." At the battle on the Heights of Abraham, he was severely wounded. In Feb., 1762, he became colonel in the army and was assigned to the 93d Reg't of Foot, which being soon disbanded, he went upon half pay. On the 24th of Sept., 1766, he was made Lieut. Gov. of Quebec, and promoted to be Governor, Oct. 26, 1768. On the 25th of May, 1772, he was promoted to the rank of Major General. In 1775, when the Americans captured Montreal, Gen. Carleton escaped in a birch bark canoe, and reached Quebec accompanied only by his boatman and an aid-de-camp; but it is no doubt owing to his untiring energy, and unceasing watchfulness, that Quebec was saved from capture. "Gen. Carleton's humane treatment of American prisoners did much to mitigate the horrors of war; and had all the British commanders in America adopted his wise moderation, the achievement of American independence would have been a much more difficult undertaking than it was. He was appointed 'Knight of the Bath,' July 6th, 1776. Being well aware that he did not stand high in favor with Lord George Germaine, His Majesty's Secretary of State, on the appointment of Burgoyne to the command of the army destined to invade New York, he asked to be relieved of his command in Canada, but it was not until 1778 that he sailed for England, having been relieved by Gen. Haldimand. The disastrous result of Burgoyne's campaign brought about a great reaction in favor of Gen. Carleton who was publicly complimented by the King in person. He became a Lieut.-Gen. in the army Aug. 29th, 1777, and in March, 1782, superseded Sir Henry Clinton as commander in chief in America, with headquarters in New York;

but as the fighting was now over, he could do but little more than correct abuses, and render his services to protect the interests of those who had remained loyal to the crown. He was elevated to the Peerage in Aug., 1786, as Baron Dorchester, of Dorchester, Oxfordshire. Having been appointed Governor of Quebec, Nova Scotia, and New Brunswick, with the exception of a single year's absence, he continued in that government until 1796. He died suddenly at his seat in Berkshire Nov. 10th, 1808." See Appendix 7 page 429. Hadden's Orderly Book.—ED.



CHAPTER IV.

"JOHN CLUNES," AGAIN. AN INTERESTING LETTER, AND A VERY SATISFACTORY ONE. GEN. HALDIMAND WRITES TO LORD GEORGE GERMAINE. THE QUESTION SETTLED.

THE following letter with all its faults of grammar and orthography, is well worth reading; and the more so as its principal statements are fully verified by various historians.

Carleton Island March 24th 1779.

"*Sir.*

Very agreeably I received your letter dated Decr 1st., which did afford me great satisfaction to hear of your agreeable situation. About a Month before I left you I was made a Master Sawyer at the pay of 4. *st'g per day and remain at that pay still. I have surmounted many difficulties along with Gen. Burgoyen but escaped being a Conventioner* [*Prisoner*], *by being on the top of a high hill close to Tyconderoga, where with* 72 *Artificieres* [*artificers*] *I was riseing* [*raising*] *a Fortification on purpose to secure Genl. Burgoyens retreat, but the unfortunate Gen. Bur-*

goyen never could have retreat so far. [I] suppose he tryed it, but was surrounded. No sooner had they surrounded the British army than a detachment of 1500 *of the Rebellious Crew came back to Tyconderoga on purpose to retake it. accordingly their first attack was upon Me on the top of the Mount. of which they took and killed every man of us but* 9 *of which my Brother and myself are two. After a retreat almost incredible without you was to see the Precipes [precipices], and when we come to the water side our difficulty was to get over to Tyconderoga, but fortunately I saw an old Battoux [batteau] which we all got into but was so leaky that she was like to sink with us but we kept bailing her out with hats and caps the best way that we could. we had no oars but the throts [thwarts] of the boat that we paddled with.*

In this condition did I make Tyconderoga all tore almost to picces—I lost all my clothes & 40 *Gineas [guineas] which I had in my purse which I lost in the retreat by a stump that tore my Breeches and thy. [thigh] In short I lost above* 100 *pounds that morning for it was about one o'clock when I was surprised—as soon as Genl Powell saw my condition for he was Commanding Officer, he clothed me and all my few people that was with me as some of us was half naked as we was asleep when the Cowardly Villiains surprised us. Genl Powell commended my Conduct much in regard to my desperate Retreat, and he gave me* 20 *more Carpenters and ordered me immediately to rise [raise]*

platforms that he might be enabled to mount cannon, and before 6 *o'clock that very night I had* 16 *pieces of Cannon.* [*mounted*]. *The Rebles keeped a Constant fire on me from the woods with small Arms and wounded several of my covering party, but never touched me nor any of the carpenters—about* 8 *o'clock the Rebles sent in a Flagg of truce to us but Genl Powell would not see* [*it*] *and ordered us to fire on them which we did and out of* 5 *killed* 3—*about* 10 *o'clock they attacked us but we always drove them off with loss of men—this way did they lay seige to us for five days —then they broke up the seige they were totally beat—a few days afterward we had the news of Genl Burgoyens army being Prisoners, about* 3 *weeks after Genl Carleton sent orders up to Genl Powell to burn Ticonderoga to the ground and return to Canada with his men which he did. I came to this place along with the Commanding Engineer, Lieut. Wil'm Twiss,* (1) *who is my friend. I am in a very good place and have made several friends to myself by my sobriety and attention to my duty. I have keep't my health in this country very well. You wanted to know where the Bakers were. Galloway is married and is a baker at the Isle of Oxe Noxe* [*Isle aux Noix*] *a little above St. Johns. Mabon is still at St. Johns and both of them are doing very well. Baxter is a Foreman at St. Johns and is very well. Loggan insisted upon his discharge but whether he went any further than Quebec is more than I can tell,—he got his discharge a few days before I came here. This*

Garrison is very near finished and I may venture is the strongest place in NORTH AMERICA. I hope it will be an honor to our Engineer and a credit to our Master Carpenter and me, and every Artificier concerned in building it. The Commanding Off'r of this place has quarreled with every officer in this place except Mr. Baker Capt. Anderson and Gill the doctor so that no officer will speak to him. I return you my hearty thanks for your usefull and generous present of Potatoes, and depend if it ever lays in my power to serve you I will. I hope that you will excuse my long letter and I hope you will write me as soon as possible and you will much oblige your,

Ob't Humble Serv't

JOHN CLUNES

Clerk and Foreman."

To Mr Goring.

As a supplement to the above letter, we here present another, which is conclusive. It will be remembered by students of the history, that Sir Guy Carleton, Commander in Chief of his Majesty's Forces in Canada, dissatisfied with the conduct of affairs during the memorable but disastrous campaigns of Burgoyne and St. Leger in 1777, returned to England in 1778 and was succeeded by Gen. Sir Frederick Haldimand, who writes as follows to Lord George Germaine, His Majesty's Secretary of State.

"*Camp at Sorel, 14th Oct., 1778.*

My Lord: * * * * * * *I Sent Mr. Twiss of the*

Engineers with Capt. Aubrey ([2]) and three Co.'s remaining of the 47th Reg't in Canada, a detachment from Sir John Johnson's Corps, [*The Royal Greens, Ed.*] *together with a body of Artificers to establish a Post at the entrance of Lake Ontario to serve the purposes of a safe place for the traders to send their goods to, which go from Montreal in Boats, till the Kings vessels now the only craft allowed to navigate the Lakes can be spared from the more urgent services, to transport them to Niagara, a secure harbor for these vessels, and a defence against the enterprises of the Rebels upon this province by that great avenue into it. I also sent up with the same party Lieut. Schank ([3]) of the Navy, (who has been employed upon Lake Champlain,) and is the Commissioner of the Dock Yards, for the benefit of his judgment with regard to the best places for a Harbor, and with orders to construct as soon as possible for that Lake a number of Gun Boats which are so useful in many respects. I sent him also the the Inspection and arrangement of the King's vessels there."*

"*The place pitched upon by these gentlemen, after having been carefully examined, is an Island about* 12 *miles below the entrance of Lake Ontario, having Grand Isle* [*Now Wolfe Island.—Ed*] *on one side from which is divided by a channel of something less than a mile, and the South Continent on the other, at a distance of one mile and a quarter from it.*"

"*This Island had gone for some time by the name of Deer Island, having been mistaken for that called by the French Isle aux Cheverents* [Isle aux Chevreuils,) *which is found to be higher up, and the name of Carleton Island is now given to this in question. Very favorable ground for fortifying, commanding a commodious and safe Harbor which this Island possesses at the upper end of it looking toward the lake, induced the gentlemen sent on this service to fix upon this spot, where a Fort is begun, and Barracks are building for the Troops, and the place will be in a tolerable state of defence, and Habitation by the Winter. A Plan of which shall be transmitted to your Lordship as soon as possible.** * * * * * *

It will be noticed by the reader, that Mr. Cunningham's last letter from "Deer" Island, was dated on the 20th of August, while his first letter from "Carleton" Island, was dated the 22d of October, only eight days later than Gen. Haldimand's letter to Lord Germaine; and while Mr. Cunningham says nothing about any fort, he substantiates Gen. Haldimand as to the change of name, and also substantiates the theory of the writer, advanced some years before he had the pleasure of meeting with Gen. Haldimand's letter, that the change of name from "Deer" to "Carleton" took place within the period of the thirty-six days mentioned at the close of a former

* [See "Hadden's Orderly Book," page 322, note. Ed.]

chapter. The truth of the CLUNES letter is fairly demonstrated by Lossing in his "Field Book of the Revolution," vol. 1, page 114, where he relates substantially the surprise and capture of a party of British who were erecting a battery near Ticonderoga.

It will also be remembered that Gen. Powell, who at that time commanded the British troops at Ticonderoga, was charged with having violated the usages of civilized warfare, by ordering his men to fire upon a flag of truce, a charge which was strenuously denied. Gen. Powell, in trying to relieve himself of the odium, distinctly stated that he "saw no flag of truce." Mr. Clunes, innocently and honestly, because he evidently saw no breach of custom in firing upon a rebel flag, tells us that: "Gen'l Powell *would not see*, and *ordered us to fire on them which we did.*"—This settles another disputed historical question.

In connection with any question as to the authenticity of the CLUNES letter, or rather of Mr. CLUNES' statements, should such question arise, the following General Order, issued by Lieutenant General Burgoyne, will not be without its share of interest.

"*G. O.* *Oct.* 1, 1777.

In consequence of authentic letters received by the Lieutenant General from Brigadier General Powel at Ticonderoga, and Captain Aubery [Aubrey] of the 47th Regiment commanding at Diamond Island in Lake George.

The army is informed that the enemy having found means to cross the mountains between Skenesborough and Lake George, and having marched with another Corps, from Hubberton, [Hubbardton,] a sudden and general Attack was made in the morning of the 18th upon the carrying place at Lake George, Sugar Hill, Ticonderoga, and Mount Independence. The enemy so far succeeded as to surprise the armed Boat stationed to defend the carrying Place, as also the Posts on Sugar Hill and at the Portage, where a considerable part of four companions of the 53d Regiment were made prisoners.

A Blockhouse commanded by Lieutenant Lord, was the only Post on that side that had time to make use of their arms, and they made a brave Defence till Cannon (Supposed to be taken from the Surprize Vessel) was brought against them.

After stating and lamenting so fatal a want of Vigilence, the Lieutenant General has to congratulate the Troops upon the Event which followed.

The Enemy having twice summoned Brigadier General Powel, and received such answers as became a gallant Officer entrusted with an importaut Post and having tried during the course of four Days several Attacks, and being repulsed in all, retreated without having done any considerable damage.

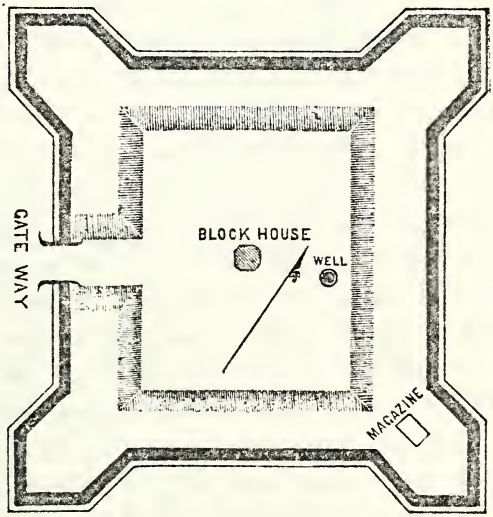
Brigadier General Powel gives great commendations to the Regiment of Prince Frederick, and the other Troops

stationed on Mount Independence. The Brigadier also mentions with great applause the Behavior of Captain Taylor of the 21st, Regiment, who commanded 100 men in the Fort of Tyconderoga and that he was well supported by Lieutenant Beacroft of the 24th Regiment who with the Artificers in Arms in the Half Moon Battery, prevented the Enemy from surrounding the Fort. On the 24th Instant the Rebels with the Gunboats and Batteaux which they had surprised at the carrying Place at Lake George attacked in two Divisions, Diamond Island, where Captain Aubery and a Detachment of the 47th Regiment were posted with some Cannon and Gun Boats; the Rebles were repulsed with Great Loss;— * * **

An extract from a General Order issued by Gen. Carleton, writing from St. John's 24th September, 1776, fixes the status of Lieutenant Twiss. It is as follows:

"*A Disposition being made for the Army to proceed in search of the Enemy, the Commander in Chief takes the occasion to thank Major General Phillips, and all his Department, for the Zeal and Activity with which the preparations have been concluded, and likewise Captain Douglas for the cheerful and great assistance afforded from the Naval Department. Captain Pringle, Captain Dacres, and Captains Schank and Stark of the Navy, and Lieutenant Twiss, of the Corps of Engineers, deserve particular distinction in this acknowledgment.* * * *

These extracts from "General Orders," aside from their historical interest, settle the general accuracy of Clunes' letter to his friend and fellow passenger on the hospital ship "Speke," from England to America. In concluding this chapter, we introduce an extract of a General Order issued on the island in question, supplemented by a letter which, although it does not affect our argument as to the construction of the Old Fort, will prove of interest to all to



PLAN OF OLD FORT STANWIX.

whom the locality is familiar, and will be not out of place as an introduction to our next chapter in which old time incidents will be brought out.

The final order for the embarkation of the troops destined for the capture of Fort Stanwix, [Rome] was issued by Col. Barry St. Leger, at Lachine June 21, 1777. [4] The next entry in the Orderly Book* is dated at "Buck" Island, July 8th, 1777, "the first order being,—after the detail for guard is made,"—to unload and repair the batteaux. On the 10th, the entry is headed: "General Orders, by Brigadier Gen'l St. Leger," and is as follows:

"*Lt. Colonel St. Leger, is appointed to act as Brigadier Gen'l; Chevelier St. Oaris appointed Lt. in Capt. Buvilie'e* [*Rouville's*] *comp'y of Canadians. Two Substitutes and* 50 *men to attend the Deputy Qr. Master General to elear ground sufficient to exercise the army; the party to be furnished with proper Utencils for that purpose. The King's Reg't and the* 38*th form one Corps* [*and*] *will encamp on the right. The Hessian Chasseurs on the Left, and the R. R. of New York,* [*Royal Regiment of New York, also known as the Royal Greens, commanded by Sir John Johnson*] *in the centre. Lt. Collerton will choose out the proposed ground on the right of the Army for his party of Artillery and will begin Immediately to prepare Bark Huts for His Ammunition. The Irregulars will be arranged by the Deputy Qr. Master Genl. Col. Clause* [*Col. Daniel Claus*] *will take ground for the Indian Allies.*"

Signed. Wm. Crofts Lt. 34 *Reg't.* [*Major of Brigade.*]"

* See "Johnson's Orderly Book" page 64.—ED.

GREAT TURTLE.—*(A chief of the Six Nations.)*

The same General Order, directs the Deputy Quarter Master-General, to order a "Hut built within the lines of the encampment to receive all the Publick Stores;" directs that the "Men's tents" be aired every day, and the company streets swept, and that the "ovens" be set at work preparing bread for the expedition. From all this it would seem that St. Leger found no fortifications on the island as late as July 8th, 1777; and Col. Daniel Claus, who had been for some time the Superintendent of Indians for Canada and was at the Island in advance of St. Leger, makes no mention of any fortifications there, although he was thoroughly familiar with the locality.

Though not in any way connected with the immediate point under discussion, the following letter written by Col. Claus, [5] to the noted Chief Thayendanegea, better known as Joseph Brant, [6] and dated at Montreal, March 3d, 1781, will prove interesting to the reader. He says:

"*The General* [*Haldimand*] *has for some time intended sending a party of about sixty chosen loyalists, under the command of Major Jessup toward Fort Edward; this party might join you against Palmerstown* [*near Saratoga Springs N. Y.*] *could you ascertain the time and place, which might be nearly done by calculating the time your express would take to come from Carleton Island, your march from thence, and Major Jessup's from Point au Fez.* * * * *Should you upon this adopt the General's offer and opinion, and proceed from Carleton island to Palmerstown, which place I am sure several of Major Ross's men and others at the island are well acquainted with, I wish you the aid of Providence with all the success immaginable; in which case it will be one of the most essential services you have rendered your King this war, and cannot but by him be noticed and rewarded; your return by Canada will be the shortest and most eligible, and we shall be most happy to see you here.*"

In a postscript to this letter he writes:

"*P. S. The great advantage of setting out from Carleton Island, is the route, which is so unexpected a one, that there*

is hardly any doubt but you will surprise them, which is a great point gained. Whereas were you to set out from Canada, there are so many friends to the rebel cause, both whites and Indians, that you could not well get to the place undiscovered which could not do so well. D. C."

This letter, with other sources of information at hand, pretty fairly establishes the fact that Carleton Island was once the headquarters of that noted chief of the Six Nations,—Thayendanegea.

[1] William Twiss was born in 1745 and entered the military department of the ordnance in 1760, and was commissioned an ensign and "Practical Engineer," in the Royal Engineers in 1764. He was promoted to Lieutenant and Sub Engineer in 1771, being at that time in service at Gibraltar. From 1772 to 1775 he was employed on the new Fortifications at Plymouth, and early in 1776, he was sent out to Gen. Carleton. He landed in Quebec late in May, and on the 10th of June he was assigned to duty on the staff of Major Gen. Phillips. In conjunction with Lieut. Schank of the Navy he constructed a fleet for Lake Champlain. In the spring of 1777, he was appointed Chief Engineer of Burgoyne's Army. He served throughout Burgoyne's campaign, and was included in the Saratoga Convention but was shortly exchanged and returned to Ticonderoga, which post he assisted in evacuating in Nov., 1777.

In the autumn of 1778, he, together with Capt. Aubrey of the 47th, and Lieut. Schank of the Navy, was sent by Gen. Haldimand, Sir Guy Carleton's successor, to establish a post at the entrance to Lake Ontario. He was steadily promoted from time to time, and in later years was considered the best engineer in the Eng-

lish service. He died at the age of 82, having reached the grade of General." See "Hadden's Orderly Book," note page 169.—Ed.

[2] Captain Thomas Aubrey belonged to a very ancient English family. He was the second son of Sir Thomas Aubrey Bart, and entered the army as an ensign in Oct. 1762. In 1765 he was promoted to a lieutenancy, and in 1771 became a captain in the 47th, and two years later came with his regiment to America where he served during the Revolutionary war. In 1778, he, with three companies of his regiment, and a detachment of Sir John Johnson's Reg't [The Royal Greens], were sent to Carleton Island to establish a post there, in company with Lieut. Twiss and a body of Artificers. Captain Aubrey remained in command of Carleton Island for a long time. He became a major in 1785, and in 1788 he exchanged with Capt. John Irving and retired. He became a member of Parliament and died in London, Jan. 15, 1814.

[3] Lieut. John Schank was descended from a very ancient Scottish family whose records extend beyond the reign of Robert Bruce. He was born in 1740, and went to sea at an early age in the merchant service, serving for the first time on a man of war in 1757, the Elizabeth of 74 guns commanded by Sir Hugh Pallisser. He came to America as a midshipman on the Barfleur, a 98 gun ship. He was the inventor of the centre board for vessels and built the first one of the kind for Lord Percy in Boston, in 1774. He was promoted to a lieutenancy in the Navy in 1776, and immediately thereafter, superintendent of the Naval Department at St. Johns. A great feat of Lieut. Schanks' was the building of the Inflexible, a vessel of 300 tons having only the help of sixteen carpenters, completely fitting her out, manning, equipping, arming, and successfully fighting her against an enemy in six weeks from the laying down of her keel. In 1778 he was sent to Carleton Island by Gen. Haldimand to arrange for the building of ves-

sels and gun boats for Lake Ontario, and at one time he had the direction of four dock yards, located at Quebec, St. Johns, Carleton Island and Detroit. He was no less celebrated for his skill in construction, than for his economical expenditure of the public money, at a time when peculation was the well nigh invariable characteristic of the British disbursing officer.* In 1780, he was promoted to be a Master and Commander in the Navy, and in 1783 he became a post-captain. He passed through the various grades of Admiral, and reached that of Admiral of the Blue, July 19, 1821. He was the inventor of many improvements in vessels

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*As an instance of official ignorance on the part of the English Lords of the Admiralty, the following statement, made by Mr. John McGregor, who was a prominent and voluminous writer upon Commercial Statistics, and the Secretary of the Board of Trade, and who made a tour of Canada in 1830 is decidedly amusing.

Speaking of the British Naval force on Lake Ontario, and of the vessels constructed during the war of 1812, he says:—"The wooden work of the Psyche frigate had been sent out from England to a country where it could be provided on the spot in one-tenth of the time necessary to carry it from Montreal to Kingston, and at one-twentieth of the expense. Even wedges were sent out; and to exemplify more fully the information possessed at that time by the Admirality, *a full supply of water casks were sent to Canada for the use of ships of war on Lake Ontario*, where it was only necessary to throw a bucket overboard with which to draw up water of the very best quality."—[*British America*, Vol. 1, p. 187.]

The above is one out of very many instances of official ignorance, and of "carrying coals to Newcastle" at government expense.

During the war of the Revolution, when Congress voted Gen. Stark a "new coat" for his brilliant success at Bennington, a prominent British officer perpetrated the witticism that :—"either the General must be stark naked or Congress stark mad." Had the British Admiralty been composed of "old salts" it would have known that the waters of Lake Ontario were fresh. The wonder is, that they did not send the water casks already filled.—ED.]

which are in use to this day. He died March 6, 1823 in the 83d year of his age.

[4] "Barry St. Leger, a nephew of the fourth Viscount Doneraile, was of Huguenot descent, and was born in or about the year 1737. He entered the British military service as an ensign in the 28th Foot in 1756, and the next year accompanied his regiment to America, where it served under Gen. Ambercrombie. He was promoted to a captaincy in the 48th Foot in 1758, and in the same year participated in the seige and capture of Louisburg. In 1759, he accompanied Wolfe to Quebec, participating in the battle on the Heights of Abraham. In obedience to Wolfe's last order Webb's regiment (the 48th) was sent to Charles river to cut off the retreat of the French fugitives from the bridge; here St. Leger behaved gallantly and was slightly wounded. He became major of the 95th Foot in 1762. He was promoted to Lieut. Colonel in the army in 1772, and to the lieut. colonelcy of the 34th Foot May 20th, 1775.

In the spring of 1776, his regiment formed a part of the re-enforcement sent over to Sir Guy Carleton, and he accompanied it to Canada. He took part in Sir Guy's operations in 1776, and the next year, acting as a brigadier, he led the force which moved up the St. Lawrence, and by way of Oswego, Oneida Lake and Wood Creek to Fort Stanwix, and which was intended after the capture of that point to move down the Mohawk to a junction with Burgoyne at Albany. [For a more detailed account, see "Hadden's Journal," note; page 45.]

It was during this expedition which terminated so disastrously to his command that St. Leger and his army encamped on Carleton Island, then known by the English as "Buck Island." St. Leger's first order issued on the island is dated July 8th, 1777, and his last on the 19th, his forces embarking for Oswego on the

20th; from the above dates it will be seen that his military occupation of the island was twelve days. Whether he made a halt on the island in his retreat does not appear, but it is highly probable that he did, although a very brief one.

Of the subsequent operations of St. Leger, the authority above quoted says :—"St. Leger's force was sent to Ticonderoga Sept. 23d, 1777, to be subject to Burgoyne's orders, but as communication with Burgoyne was interrupted, it did not proceed south of Ticonderoga, and when that fortress was abandoned in November of that year, it returned to Canada. He became a colonel in the army in 1780, and a brigadier general in the army in Canada in 1782. He was commandant of his Majesty's forces in Canada in the autumn of 1784, and his name appears in the army lists for the last time in 1785. He died in 1789, at a little past fifty years of age."

St. Leger seems to have been in character a curious compound of wisdom and folly, strength and weakness, skill, ability, and incompetence. That he believed in the adage that "everything is fair in war," is shown by his duplicity in trying to induce the garrison of Fort Schuyler to surrender; and "his message in which he pictured the terrors of unrestrained savage allies was so barbarous that Col. Willett characterized it 'as a degrading one for a British officer to send, and by no means reputable for a British officer to carry.'" Dr. Moses Younglove, who was taken prisoner at Oriskany, says that he was informed by several sergeants orderly on Gen. St. Leger, that $20 were offered in general orders for every American scalp. [See Appendix 20, Stone's Life of Brant.]

That St. Leger was thoroughly conversant with military details, is evidenced by his admirable description of the duties of a

provost marshal, issued in the orders of July 15th, 1777, at Buck Island. We copy it in full from "Johnson's Orderly Book."

SAVAGE ALLIES.

"—15th P. (parole) London C. (countersign) Edinburg. The duty of the Provost Marshal. The care of all prisoners taken in battle, spies and deserters is intrusted to them forthwith; he will have a guard strong in proportion to their number; all disorders in camp fall under his cognizance; he is to have control of all suttlers and traders selling liquor, and have authority for impressing such as he finds disobedient to General Orders; he is to regulate all markets that may be formed in the Camp, and appoint proper places for them, and likewise to protect with his authority and guard all persons coming with provisions to the troops; he is from time to time to send out patroles from his guard and when necessary attend them himself; to take prisoners

all marauders and stragglers; all his reports are to the D. (deputy) Quarter Master General—only for the Information of the Commander-in-Chief cases relative to the economy of the Camp, and to the D. A., (deputy adjutant) General all Extraordinary matters; as spies, deserters, &c., &c. In cases of Executions he is to the Martial law, what the Sheriff of a County is to the Civil; he is to be provided with an Executioner when this he Requests and when a more honorable death by fire arms is granted he will give the word of command; his guard is to be near headquarters."

It is a matter of doubt whether a better epitome of a Provost Marshal's duties can be penned by any of the military gentlemen of our day, while there is an abundance of evidence to show that St. Leger had, in many instances, shown superior skill and sagacity. His great defect without doubt, was his convivial habits.

"The testimony of Squire Ferris who was an American prisoner in Canada in the spring of 1779, is of the most unflattering description. Speaking of a party of fellow prisoners who had attempted to escape, Ferris says: 'For four days before they were retaken, they had nothing for food but tea, and were so weak that they could hardly walk. The forces at St. John's were then commanded by Col. St. Leger, a brutal drunkard, who ordered the prisoners to be ironed together, and put them in a dungeon for fourteen days, at the end of which time, and ironed hand in hand to each other, they were sent to Chamblee, and from there by the rivers Sorel and St. Lawrence to Quebec." [See note to Hadden's Journal, page 47].

The story of "Sir Darby Monaghan," as related in *London Clubs*, and again in the Appendix to Johnson's Orderly Book, is an excellent illustration of one phase in the character of Col.

Barry St. Leger. As there told, the story is too long for our space but we make room for a synopsis, which briefly related is as follows :

The Duke of Rutland when Lord Lieutenant of Ireland frequently indulged with some boon companions in incognito rambles through the meaner parts of Dublin. On one occasion his Grace, accompanied by Col. St. Leger and one or two others, entered a public house the landlord of which had served with St. Leger, in America, and whose name was Darby Monaghan.

Darby was a comical blade, and his guests found him so amusing that they invited him to sit down to supper with them. This was Darby's opportunity and he took good care that the entertainment should lack nothing that could give satisfaction to his guests. His abundant flow of native wit and comic drollery delighted them, and his wine and whiskey punch were so good, that by two in the morning they were jolly company.

The Duke was so pleased with his landlord that in a fit of good humor he proposed to *knight* Darby, which he did, although his companions undertook to prevent him ; but all the forms were complied with and Darby having thanked his Grace and sworn fealty in a bumper to the King of England ordered in an immense bowl of punch which was filled and refilled, until at length the whole party became blind drunk, and rolled under the table where they slept until morning.

Darby, however, was soonest over the debauch, and he quickly prepared for them a comfortable breakfast of which they freely partook, after bathing in cold spring water, and partaking of a glass of good whiskey or brandy as they preferred. Finally Col. St. Leger began to have a dim perception that something foolish had been done the night before in conferring the

order of Knighthood upon the redoubtable Darby, and called his Grace's attention to the fact. His Excellency was entirely oblivious to the circumstance, and was exceedingly mortified, knowing that if it once got wind he would become the laughing-stock of the Court, and the jest of Great Britain.

His Grace hoped that Darby's recollections of the matter would be found to be as oblivious as his own, and if so, the whole thing could be successfully denied ; and to test that matter Darby was called and questioned, and they soon found that his potations had in no wise impiared his memory of the events of the previous evening. Then the question was, how to get out of the awkward position. Various official positions were tendered Darby if he would give up the title, which he refused, making the shrewd statement that he would rather " Kape the toitle yer Excellency, for if it was wanst known that Sir Darby Monaghan kept a punch house I'd soon have all the custom of Dublin city and that would be better than a tide waiter's place annyhow."

Finally he was offered an income of two hundred and fifty pounds a year to give up his Knighthood, to which Darby said : " Please yer Excellency I'll jist step upstairs and consult her *Ladyship*," which he did. Her Ladyship wisely concluded to accept the income, and so it was settled. But the story got out, and the worthy couple not only enjoyed the income but the title also, as they were known to all Dublin as Sir Darby and Lady Monaghan,—ED.]

[5] [Col. Daniel Claus was a native of the Mohawk Valley, and having in early life acquired a knowledge of the Iroquois language he was attached to the department of Sir William Johnson, as interpreter, and accompanied him as Lieutenant of Rangers in the celebrated expedition against Dieskau. In 1750 he was appointed lieutenant in the 60th or Royal American Reg't,

and continued at or near Johnstown until 1759, when he accompanied the expedition to Niagara, from whence he went to Montreal with the army; at which place he was stationed as superintendent of the Canadian Indians. He was promoted to a captaincy in 1761. With the exception of occasional trips to Canada he resided near Johnstown, having married a daughter of Sir William Johnson, until the breaking out of the Revolution, when he retired to Canada. He visited England in 1776, and returned with a commission as deputy superintendent of Indians, and in that capacity accompanied St. Leger in the expedition against Fort Stanwix. [Rome.] Many of his letters still extant show that he did not wholly agree with that officer in the conduct of the campaign. Some of his later years were spent in England in superintending the translation of the "Book of Common Prayer" into the Mohawk tongue, for which work his long service as an interpreter, and his "accurate knowledge of the Mohawk language" fully qualified him. He died at Cardiff, Wales, in the latter part of 1787. His wife survived him thirteen years, and died in Canada in 1801. Johnson's Orderly Book, page 69. Note 2.]

[6] [Joseph Brant or Thayendanegea, was a pure blooded Onondaga Indian, and the son of a chief; but was educated by the care of Sir William Johnson at the celebrated Moor school, kept by Dr. Wheelock. He was an apt scholar, and in a short time became fitted as an interpreter for Dr. Charles Jeffry Smith, an enthusiastic young missionary. So satisfactory did he conduct himself at this period in the performance of all his duties, that the Rev. Samuel Kirkland said of him: "He conducted himself so much like a Christian and a soldier that he gained great esteem." When he became chief of the Six Nations, he wielded great authority, and co-operated at all times with Sir William

Johnson. He was always an able vindicator of what he deemed the rights of his people, both by voice and pen. He visited England in 1775, attracting distinguished attention wherever he appeared as the chief of the greatest Indian Alliance ever, known.

JOSEPH BRANT.—(Tayendanagea.).

He adhered to the British government during the war, and after the Treaty of Peace in which no provision was made for his people, he struggled hard to retain what they had formerly possessed. But the great heritage was lost. In the national struggles for territory the rights of the Six Nations were almost wholly lost sight of and the self-sacrificing exertions of Thayendanegea were in vain. It is fair to say that doubtless many of the early tales regarding the cruelties practiced by this chief during the war are but fabrications or at best gross exaggerations having but a grain of truth for a foundation. At the close of the war, he retired to Canada, and spent his later years under the protection of those with whom he had made a common cause. His life by Col. Stone, a work of singular interest, gives a full detail of his career, in part collected in his old neighborhood. It is published by Joel Munsell's Sons, Albany. See Johnson's Orderly Book" page 196.]

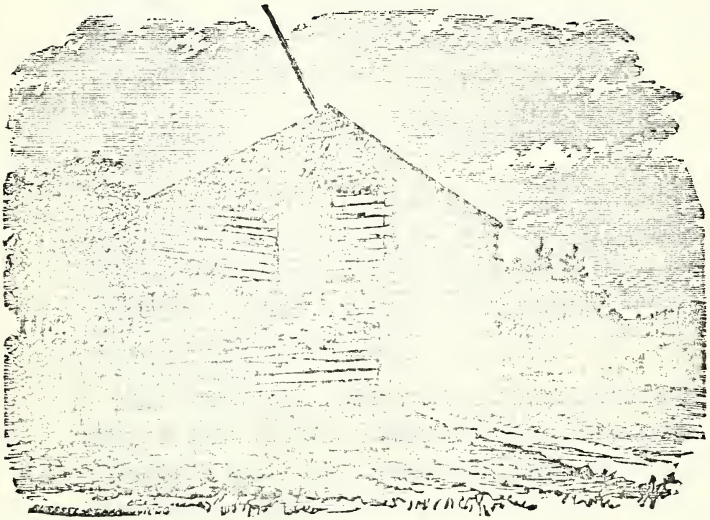
CHAPTER V.

ADDITIONAL LETTERS. THE ARMAMENT OF THE OLD FORT. THE NUMBER AND KIND OF GUNS MOUNTED THERE. WHERE THEY WERE TAKEN. INTERESTING OFFICIAL CORRESPONDENCE. SEVERAL ITEMS WORTH READING.

DURING his somewhat extended researches after some definite account of the Old Fort, and the occupation of Carleton Island, the writer has read many scores of old letters, consisting mainly of business correspondence, written, first, from "Buck Island," in 1774, then from "Deer Island" as has been already shown, and lastly from "Carleton Island." These letters bear the dates of 1774 and succeeding years, as late as 1782. Some of these letters are now in the writer's possession, and will be given a place in this chapter.

In connection with this, however, the attention of the reader is called to a fact bearing upon the question we have been discussing. It is this. MR. FRANCIS GORING, in his letters from Niagara, makes frequent mention of "the Fort." Naturally enough,

too, because there was a fort there at that time; and in his trading, he became acquainted with the officers, the more easily, perhaps, because he had at one time been a clerk for the Quarter Master General himself; and so he frequently makes mention of their names, and what they purchased.



AN OLD FRONTIER BLOCK HOUSE.

On the other hand, none of the letters written from "Buck Island" in 1774, make the slightest reference to anything like a stockade, fort, nor even a block-house; nor do any of the letters make any mention whatever of any fort until 1779, '80, '81, and '82. The reason is plain. When there was no fort, none

was mentioned; but as soon as a fort was built, it was perfectly natural to refer to it. The next letter we insert is from MR. CLUNES, written the next day after the one which we have already given. Probably the vessel did not leave until the next day, so that it gave him further opportunity to write to his friend Goring. It gives us a quiet glimpse of the situation, and details a bit of camp gossip which will be appreciated by an old soldier. Here is the extract:

Carleton Island, March 25th, 1777.

Sir.

* * * * *I wrote you a small epistle of my life since I parted with you, but were we to meet I would surprise you to tell you of some things, and make you Laugh at Others. I mean in regard to Men that Come out with us, both Artificiers and salors.*

Last night Doctor Gill, got —— —— Kicked in Company by Mr. Morrison, a Merch't, upon which insted of resenting it went to the Commanding Officer and told the Commanding Officer that he was in Dangour of his life, upon which he swore his life against Morrison, and ever since Morrison has had a soldier after him day and night, but gets leave to walk about, and is a prisoner at large. In this Confusion has the Garrison been in, all this winter and no Officer keeps the Commandants company, scarce, [*scarcely*] *except a certain Watery Hero, and a piddlen prattling Surgeon's Mate who stiles himself a Doctor, and*

says he is a very good one if he had drugges [drugs] but being so much engaged with the Beautys of this Island and almost every night drunk, forgot to send in due season to Canada for drugges, so that three parts out of four of the men is sick with the scurvy and —— other sicknesses. * * *

I remain your friend and well wisher,

JOHN CLUNES.

Clerk and Foreman.

To Mr. GORING.

The truth of Mr. Clunes's letter is self-evident, and the life of a soldier on Carleton Island more than a century ago did not differ so very much from modern camp life, after all. The next letter we give in full. It was written, as will be seen, by James Clark, who was a Sergeant Major in the British Army. By this, and other letters which we have seen, it appears that Mr. Clark had been sent from Niagara to Carleton Island to straighten out the accounts of the army and navy departments, both of which, it seems, had fallen into confusion, owing to incompetent accountants, and careless officers.

Dr. Clark, of St. Catharines, Ontario, one of the ablest and most prominent physicians in the Dominion, is a grandson of the writer of the following letter.

Carleton Island, 10*th June*, 1779.

Sir.

By the return of the Seneca, you will please send

me two Quires of your largest paper, and charge it to the Naval Department. I am safe at Carleton Island, but not yet so well situated as I would wish.

We are repeatedly alarmed by the Enemy's scouts, who, a few days ago, took away two men from the Island, not one hundred yards from the Fort, and at ten o'clock in the morning. Up the whole of last night by alarms.

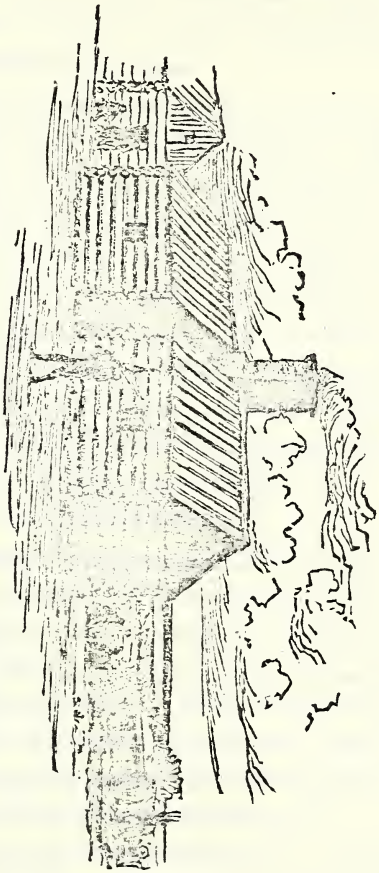
I am, Sir, Yours, &c.,

JAMES CLARK.

Mr. F. GORING.

Niagara.

Mr. Clark's Regiment was the "King's 8th Regiment of Foot," and was one of the most prominent regiments in the British Army. It was organized in 1685, and was in the battle of the Boyne, and in the sieges of Limerick, Dublin, and Kinsale. It served in the Netherlands, Ireland, and Holland. It was the first to storm the citadel of Liege in 1702, and was, in fact, in all the prominent operations of English troops, through a long period of years. It was assigned to the Canadian frontier in 1777. It helped to capture Martinique in 1809, and distinguished itself in 1812, in numerous engagements. In fact the regiment held deservedly high rank among the best regiments in the British service. To have reached the highest non-commissioned rank in a regiment possessing the record of the King's 8th, was an honor to be proud of.



FORT HALDIMAND AS IT WAS.—Barracks near Central Bastion.

Dr. Canniff, in his "History of the Settlement of Upper Canada," published at Toronto in 1869, is evidently in error as to date, when he says that Mr.

Clark was appointed "Clerk and Naval Storekeeper at Carleton Island in 1776." It should have read 1779. Dr. Canniff further says:

"*This Military Post afforded a retreat for the refugees who fled from the Mohawk Valley. 'Jay's Treaty of Peace,' found Carleton Island occupied by the* 84*th Regiment, a body of Highlanders levied in the Carolinas, and subsequently adopted into the line. Upon the erection of the northern line of the United States, Carleton Island came within the boundary of the State of New York; but it continued in common with other military posts, in possession of the British until* 1796. *Indeed, it remained in possession of the British until* 1812, *when the Americans crossed and seized a Sergeant's guard there.*"

Again Dr. Canniff says:

"*The Rebellion,* [*meaning the war of the Revolution*] *led to the establishment of a Military Post at the Island of Chevereaux, or Goat Island, subsequently named Carleton Island. This position was found more convenient than the site of Fort Frontenac. After the defeat of Burgoyne in* 1777, *there were many refugees who sought protection at the military posts along the northern frontier of New York, that of Carleton Island among the rest.*"

"*During the Revolutionary war, the British built at Carleton Island a few vessels to convey troops and provisions from that place along the lake, from Carleton Island to Niagara. The first Commissioner of the Dock-yard, was*

Commodore James Andrews, Lieutenant in the Royal Navy. The Ontario, a war vessel of considerable importance, carrying 22 guns, was built at Carleton Island. This vessel was commanded by Capt. Andrews. Some time between 1780, *and* 1783, *as the Ontario was proceeding from Niagara to Oswego, with a detachment of the King's Own Regiment, commanded by Colonel Burton with other officers, a storm arose at night and the vessel was lost with all on board.*"

Just at this point, we take the liberty to introduce an extract of a letter before us, written by Mr. Francis Goring to his uncle in London, in which he mentions the loss of this vessel, although Mr. Goring and Dr. Canniff slightly disagree in some points. We give only that part which speaks of the vessel.

Niagara, August 1, 1781.

Dear Uncle. * * * * *A very malancholy misfortune happened nigh here last fall. On the* 31*st Oct.* [1780] *a New Vessel called the Ontario sailed from here in the afternoon, and about* 12 *O'clock at Night a violent storm arose in which the vessel was lost and every soul on board Perish'd in number about* 120, *among which was Lt. Col. Bolton, who commanded this post, Lt. Collerton,*[1] *of Artillery, Lt. Royce of the* 34*th Reg't. About a week ago six of the Corps* [*corpses*] *was picked up about* 12 *miles from here and buried, which is all that has ever been seen. This was the finest scow that ever sailed these Lakes and Carried*

upward of a thousand Barrels. We have none but Indian news here, whose barbarity will not bear repeating. * * * *
'Tis said that Genl. Haldimand is going on an expedition to join —— and bring off Allen.

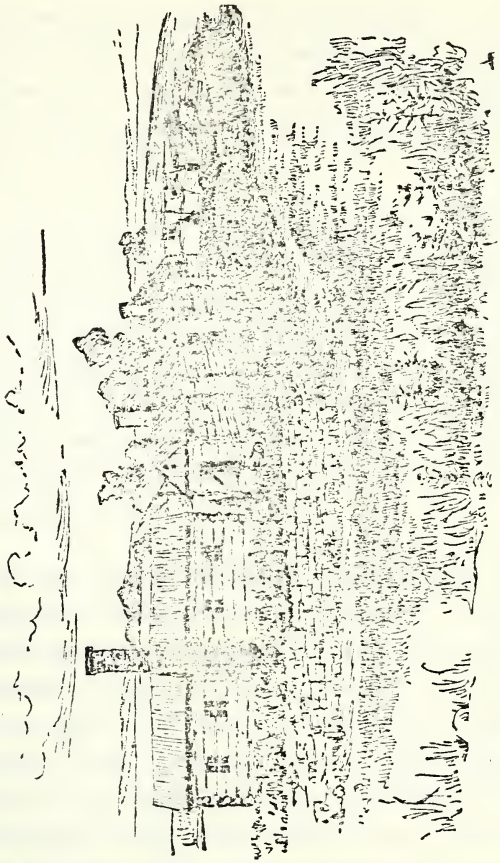
I am Dear Uncle with all Respect
Your obedient Nephew,
F. GORING.

Whether this could have meant a second attempt to capture Col. Ethan Allen, we have no means of knowing. In connection with the loss of the Ontario, it may be of interest to state that while gathering items regarding these matters, the writer was told by a Mr. Pike who resides on Wolfe Island,—known as "Grand Isle" in early days,—that there lies in Reed's Bay, at the head of the Island, in about forty feet of water, the wreck of a large vessel; and that fishermen have frequently brought up muskets and bayonets from the wreck, many of which he has seen. Mr. Pike stated that he had often seen the wreck when the water was still. He stated further, that his brother once saw an anchor at or near the extremity of "Long Point;" one of the old kind, with a wooden stock, and that the chain cable attached seemed to lead off toward the bight of the bay. If, as Mr. Goring's letter infers, the Ontario was bound for Carleton Island, what is more probable than that in the night and during a severe storm she ran out of

her course, and foundered in Reed's Bay? Should the wreck Mr. Pike speaks of prove to be the Ontario it would be something of a find, especially as she was armed with 22 guns. A little time spent by a skillful diver with a suitable apparatus, would fully test the question, and bring to light some very interesting relics of more than a century ago.

From an order book of 1779, in an entry made on the 14th of May, we learn some additional particulars. The entry in question details the duties of the engineers and "Artificiers" and provides for the usual duties of a military encampment. There was then a strong "picket" posted at the lower end of the Island, and it was ordered that a sharp lookout be kept for the rebels who were lurking in that vicinity. This order was issued by Captain Aubrey, then in command of the Post, with the local, or field rank of Colonel. This "order book"[2] is in possession of Judge Pringle of Cornwall, Ontario, who is a lineal descendant of the Captain Pringle[3] so favorably mentioned in the General Order issued by Lieut. Gen. Sir Guy Carleton, extracts from which we have already given.

Dr. Hough, in his admirable work "The Thousand Islands of the St. Lawrence," page 52, refers to this "Orderly Book," and gives in addition, this brief but interesting item, which also recorded in the



FORT HALDIMAND AS IT WAS — View looking toward the North Salient.

Clinton papers No. 2,285, on file in the State Library at Albany. "Early in the spring of 1779, Lieutenants McClellan, and Hardenburg of the 5th New York Regiment, were sent by the way of Black River, to

surprise the British Post at Oswegatchie. [Ogdensburg.] They failed to accomplish their purpose, but succeeded in capturing two Onondaga Indians, of whom they gathered the following facts as given in their own words.

"*That the last week we had left that place* [*Buck Island*] *and that they were fortifying themselves. He further saith that 'the garrison consisted of Sir John Johnson's Regiment making in the whole not more than* 200 *men, and that they had a disorder among them of which they died very fast, and that no other reason made him and some others leave that place.*" *He further says: "that yesterday Gen. Haldimand's aid-de-camp passed that place with orders to the back posts.*"

We are further indebted to Dr. Hough for some additional information in regard to the Old Fort which appropriately close all that we have to say at present on that question. "In 1788, Captain Mann, at that time Commanding Engineer, was ordered to examine both Carleton Island and Kingston, and report as to which was most eligible as a station for the King's ships, and the protection of lake navigation and what works were necessary for that purpose. He reported in favor of the latter, and from that time Carleton Island is mentioned as the place that "used to be of note."

"On the 13th day of October, 1789, there were found in the fort eighteen unserviceable gun-carriages, of which two were for eighteen pounders, three for twelves, three for nines, six for sixes, and four for fours." * * * On the next day his Majesty's Scow Seneca, was ordered to 'be sent around to Carleton Island for the Ordnance, and Stores at that place.'"

There is do doubt that the stores were removed at that date, but that the guns were not; for "On the 10th of June, 1793, nineteen guns, of which ten were eighteens, five twelves, two nines, and two sixes, were described as being still in the works. As the iron work of the rotten carriages was being stolen, Capt. Porter ordered them to be burned and the irons stored, and finally in August of that year, the *Mississaugua* was sent by Capt. Geo. Glasgow, of the Royal Artillery to remove these guns, and some others from Kingston to Toronto.

The following correspondence in regard to the armament of the Old Fort, will also prove interesting. It may be found in the second volume of the Simcoe papers, page 136.

Lieut. Gov. Simcoe, of Upper Canada to Lieut. Gov. Alured Clarke of Lower Canada,

Navy Hall, June 17th, 1793.

* * * "*I enclose a return of the cannon at Carleton*

Island. Those 18 *pounders reported to be sunk are nowhere to be found. The guns are all marked as unserviceable, and the carriages are so rotten, that agreeable to the Ordnance Instructions, as people are stealing the iron, Capt. Porter has ordered them to be burnt and the iron conveyed into the store; but as Capt. Glasgow is of the opinion that many of these heavy cannon may be so mounted at Toronto, as to be useful at that Post, and as I wish to avail myself of the experience of this valuable Officer whilst I have the good fortune to possess him in this Province, I must request that Your Excellency will permit me to transfer so many of them as shall be expedient, to that place."*

Gen. Alured Clarke, to Gov. Simcoe.

Quebec, July 8*th*, 1793.

"*The report you enclosed of the guns at Carleton Island has been submitted to the consideration of Lieut. Col. Walker, commanding the Royal Artillery, who declines recommending the putting in use ordnance which has been so long looked upon as being unserviceable, lest some accident might be the result of their being employed. However, if you are upon further consideration of this matter, still desirous for having some of them removed for the purpose you mention, I do acquiesce in your ordering it to be done."*

"*I must here take notice that though I am persuaded Capt. Porter's motives were good, for ordering the rotten gun carriages destroyed, and the iron brought into store,*

yet this step was rather premature, as it would have been more regular and conformable to the Board of Ordnance, to have applied for a survey, and their destruction delayed until orders were sent for that purpose."

Lieut. Gov. Simcoe to Gen. Clarke.

Navy Hall, July 24th, 1793.

"I shall immediately proceed to Toronto. (York), whither I hope the whole of the Queen's Rangers will be encamped in a few days, when I shall do myself the honor of making a more specific report on the subject of fortifying that harbor. Its extent, and the difficulty any enemy must have of bringing heavy cannon or Howitzers into the Province, necessarily points out the advantages that must result from a few guns of the largest calibre. The carronades meant for the shipping, I have always purposed to make use of, and my intention has been to select some of the best guns from Carleton Island, that at the least expense we may make the most formidable resistance."

Lieut. Gov. Simcoe to Gen. Clarke.

York, August 2nd, 1793.

"I apprehend Capt. Porter must have executed some former order, as it is merely from the Artillery through Captain Glasgow, that I have as yet received any accounts of his having destroyed the carriages at Carleton Island, and which has been rather unseasonable to my view."

LETTER FROM CAPT. GEORGE GLASGOW.

York, August 6th, 1793.

"Sir, His Excellency Colonel Simcoe, having directed the

MISSISSAUGUA *to proceed from hence to Kingston and Carleton Island in order to return here with the utmost expedition after receiving on board the cannon, carronades, carriages, etc., together with a non-commissioned officer and eight gunners, concerning which Captain Glasgow, Commanding the Royal Artillery has given the necessary orders to the corporal in charge of stores, or that corps at that port, I am to desire that this arrangement may take place as soon as possible, for which purpose I enclose to you a copy of the memorandum, of guns and carronades, which Capt. Glasgow, with his Excellency's approbation, has ordered to be transported to York.*

MEMORANDUM OF GUNS, ETC.

18 *pdr. carronades* 6 *at Kingston.*
12 " " 10 " "
Swivels 2, *for the new gun boat.*
Unserviceable 18 *pdr. guns* 6, *Carleton Island.*
" 12 " " 6, " "

N. B. The carronade carriages with the 18 *and* 12 *pd. shot at Kingston to be sent at the same time, and likewise the party must bring with them, three tents, a camp kettle, and a month's provisions.*

Toronto (now York) 6*th August*, 1793.

GEORGE GLASGOW,
Capt. Comd'g the Royal Artillery.

E. B. LITTLEHALES.

[1] Lieutenant Collerton, was under St. Leger, in his disastrous attack on Fort Stanwix, and had entire charge of the artillery.

He is frequently mentioned in General Orders, especially after the troops of the expedition reach "Buck,"—now Carleton Island. [See Johnson's Orderly Book, pages 81-89.]

[2] This Orderly Book also speaks of the fort, and designates it as "Fort Haldimand," which it is highly probable it was named; the island from one Governor General, and the fort from his successor. It further speaks of James Clark as being the Military and Naval Storekeeper, and one of his "clerks as "James Clunes." Probably the brother, whom John Clunes mentions as having escaped with him from the surprise on the "Mount."

[3] Capt. Thomas Pringle came from an old Scotch family, many of whose members attained high and honorable positions. He was a great grandson of Sir Robert Pringle, Bart., of the house of Stitchel, and the only son of Walter Pringle, an eminent West India merchant and planter in St. Kitt's who married a Miss Liderdale.

In 1776, Capt. Pringle commanded the armed ship Lord Howe, and in September of that year he was put in command of the British squadron on Lake Champlain. On Oct. 13 he signally defeated the American fleet under Benedict Arnold, capturing and destroying a number of vessels, and forcing the remainder to take refuge under the guns of Crown Point. He sailed to Europe as a bearer of dispatches in November, and the same month he was made a post captain. In January, 1777, Captain Pringle was assigned to the command of a new vessel, the Ariadne, with which he joined the West India fleet, and was attached to Rear Admiral Barrington's fleet at the Leeward Isles. The Ariadne took many prizes, and participated in many hard fought engagements. In 1786 Captain Pringle was appointed to the command of the Daedalus, a new ship of 32 guns with which he joined the

American fleet under Vice Admiral Arbuthnot, in 1781-2. He became captain of the Royal George, 100 guns, in 1790, and in 1794 he became Colonel of his "Majesty's Marine Forces," and bore a distinguished part in Lord Howe's victory over the French fleet off Ushant, for which he received a medal. He was made Rear-Admiral of the Blue in 1795. February 14th, 1799, he was promoted to be a Vice-Admiral of the White, and on January 1st, 1801 to be Vice-Admiral of the Red. After a busy and successful life in his chosen profession, he died at Edinburgh, December 8th, 1803.

CHAPTER VI.

MORE "OLD LETTERS" MORE OR LESS INTERESTING. VARIOUS MATTERS OF INTEREST CONCERNING CARLETON ISLAND.

SO far as the main object of our little book is concerned, it is fairly accomplished; but there are other items of interest to the general reader, and especially to the tourist, which are worthy of preservation, and therefore we consign them in this place, to the "art preservative."

Some of the old letters which we now take the liberty to introduce, serve to give us an insight into the ways of a century ago, much better, than could the most accurate historical writer. Indeed, some prominent writer has said, that "the best possible evidence which is to be had, of any previous condition of things, is that of a private correspondence between individuals, for the reason that they are entirely innocent of any intent to write for the future; hence what they do write, may, so far as local matters are concerned, be fully relied upon.

Therefore, while these old letters are by no means full of absorbing interest to the reader, there "crops out" now and then some little item of reference to matters of historical import, that will not fail to attract his attention; and if for no other reason, because they are the connecting links which unite us to the "long ago." The originals of the letters and extracts which follow, are now in possession of the writer, and are curiosities in their way.

The first one which we give is written to Mr. Goring, by a Mr. Hamilton who seems to have taken Cunningham's place on the Island. We give his letter in full.

Carleton Island, 25 *March*, 1780.

Dear Goring:

As I would not wish to pass an opportunity of writing, I embrace this tho' it has no great Chance of reaching you, before the Vessel. Shutt up from all Communication with the rest of the World, you cannot expect that this Barren Island will afford great Matter of Epistolary entertainment. I have spent a very idle, tho' in other respects not a very uncomfortable winter. Plenty to eat and Drink, and a good deal of other Amusements have made the winter pass pretty pleasantly.

About eight days ago, we had an express from Canada, being the first intelligence of any kind this winter. By it

we have the story you will now hear from the Papers and Letters of the Destruction of a considerable part D'Estaing's fleet by Biron, and of their being repulsed with great loss in attempting to land in Georgia. The Authenticity of this Story Depends on the Veracity of a German Officer who was sent to Albany with a flag of truce and was seen there by one of our spies from Canada, who is since came in.— What Share of Credit it merits, I will not pretend to say. It is however, by the best accounts believed in Canada.

With regard to my own motions if nothing extraordinary interferes I will not see my Niagara friends 'till the second trip of the Haldimand. At that time I hope to send up everything now under my charge here. I will endeavor if possible to send our wine by the first, that it may get on as fast as possible. On this however, I cannot promise, as there are 600 *Barrels of Provisions and* 100 *men of the* 34*th to come up at that time.*

Our new Vessel here will be launched as soon as the ice is gone and will be able to make a trip with the Haldimand when she returns from the first. She will be a noble vessel for size as she will hold near a thousand Barrels. Make my Comp's to Cunningham. As the Express is just going, I have not time to write him but will by the Vessel. Remember me also to —— [*torn out*] *with the same assurances to other inquiring friends.*

With sincerity Dear Goring, yours, &c.,

R. HAMILTON.

What a contrast between the Carleton Island of to-day, and that of one hundred and nine years ago next month. To-day, the island is practically the first in the great Archipelago of the Thousand Islands of the St. Lawrence river, as the tourist passes down the channel, and in the watering season and during the months of navigation, the crumbling chimneys of the Old Fort look down from their rocky heights, upon the great passenger steamers which go speeding by, or touch at the island wharf, while yacht, and schooner, and barge and propeller, with sail and steam enliven the scene, and the shriek of the locomotive is reëchoed from its limestone cliffs, and wooded groves.

Then, it was months ere the war news reached them, and it was uncertain at that. The scene of conflict had shifted to the South, and the Carolinas and Georgia had become the theatre of war. Marion and Sumpter, and a host of partisans were keeping alive the fires of patriotism, while up here, the bulletins might have been headed day by day, had such a thing as a daily bulletin been known: "All quiet" on the St. Lawrence!

The next letter is from Mr. Goring at Niagara to Mr. Cruikshank, formerly a fellow clerk with him on the island, but at this time in Montreal.

Niagara, 21st Nov., 1778.

Dr. Sr.

I this day received your kind favor by Mr. Cartwright. The things came all safe to hand except one of the Hangers, [*a short heavy sabre.—Ed.*] *which was broke at the guard which I am affraid I shall be obliged to return with some of the high-priced Jewellery there being no vent for them here. All the Indian works I have disposed of to Col. Butler, with all the low-priced Jewellery.—we would have taken a great deal more had they been in the Indian way. The Hanger with the White Ivory handle he has likewise taken for his own use. I am extremely sorry that I could not dispose of the whole but I living with Mr. Robinson, it perhaps would not be thought well in me to dispose of them by way of retail in his shop. I have here inclosed an order for some more Indian works which I have ingaged to furnish Messrs Bennet & Ridley, Merchants, and am promised payment for them as soon as delivered here, one of them staying here 'till next Spring—should have written to you sooner but waited for an opportunity to send the things down which I have left on hand, but cannot this being the last trip the Vessels are to make this year. By the winter express you may expect a bill which I hope will counter balance those which I have already received. The things which I have mentioned in the order, I hope you will get ready to come up by the first boats—and by some careful hand—Mr. Macomb*[3] *had his*

silver works stolen out of the boats at Carleton Island by Indians, but pursuing them, got the best part of them back —mine had very near shared the same fate they being in the boat with his.

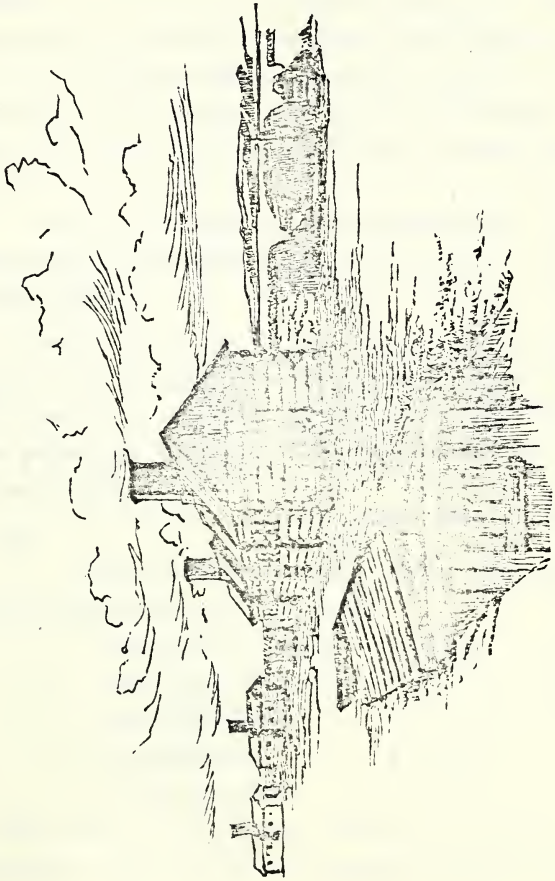
I am dear Sr wishing you an agreeable Winter Your most Humble Servt.

Mr. R. Cartwright. *F. G.*

It would seem by this time that even the British themselves were not particularly enamored of their Indian allies, especially when they became thievish, and their "barbarity" would not bear repeating. It is not to be wondered at however, when from many sources we hear of the drunken orgies held by the Indians on Carleton Island.

But, "Like causes produce like effects"; and from that time to this, there has been no instance where the whites, coming in contact with the untutored red man of the forest, has failed to reduce the red man to his own level. As between the man of civilization and him of the forest, it has always been the worse for the savage. Before the French and the English formed the acquaintance of the Six Nations, they were a powerful Confederation, honest and upright in their transactions, lovers of right and justice, and determined foes of oppression. Unless encroached upon, they were peaceably inclined, and practised many of the arts of civilization. But in an evil day

they shook hands with a christian civilization, and in so short a time they had become thieves and drunkards, and when drunk,—demons.



THE OLD FORT AS IT WAS.—Barracks and Magazine.

In the midst of scenes like this, however, the officers of the army and other gentlemen whose business or pleasure kept them thus far beyond the borders of civilization, did not intend to be wholly deprived of some of the amenities of life especially if music be reckoned among them, as a perusal of the following brief letter will show. It may be that these gentlemen were firm believers in the sentiment that:

"Music hath charms to soothe the savage breast"—

and thought it a suitable time and place to test its truthfulness.

A friend, after reading the following letter, suggested that judging from the sale of violins, it must have been very near that locality in which fiddlers are popularly supposed to be very thick. But here is the letter.

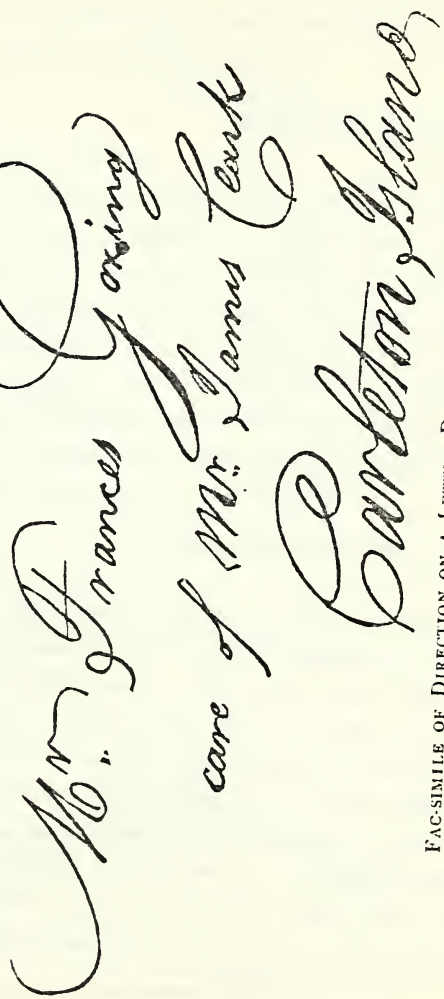
Carleton Island, Jan. 9, 1783.

Sir.

I have sent you the strings wanted and also the name of each that has got the violins.

Capt Andrus Bradt,	1 *at*	£5.
Lieut. John Bradt,	1 "	5.
Doctor McCarlin,	1 "	5.
E Armstrong,	1 "	12.
W. B. Sheehain,	1 "	12.

The latter had the Honour Conferred on him a few nights ago to join our Antient Fraternity with four more in



FAC-SIMILE OF DIRECTION ON A LETTER DATED AT NIAGARA, 1781.

one night. Mr. Street desires you to send down the stones promised him for the kitchen hearth.

I am yours &c.,

JOHN URQUHART.

Mr. Francis Goring.

It is more than probable that the Masonic Lodge hinted at in the foregoing, was the first one ever organized within the limits of what is now Jefferson County. It seems to have been a prosperous Lodge, too, from the fact that they conferred a degree upon five in one night. One more brief letter from Carleton Island will close the list, further than that it is our present intention to insert a fac-simile of a letter now before us, by way of illustration.*

Carleton Island, 8th May, 1782.

Dear Sir:

I never knew a Cockney so positively silent as you are. I have never been favored with a point from your pen neither last nor this year. What can be the reason. I thought that we could allways pool one rope as well as Carry one Hod. I understand that you are doing business for Mr. Taylor. Mr. Cunningham as he went down last fall presented me with two acc't's, one public, the other my private one. There appears some error in them both and I shall send them up for Correction. When that is done shall pay the full contents.

* This was by some mistake overlooked.—ED.

No news of Consequence from the seat of war. The General is expected up soon.

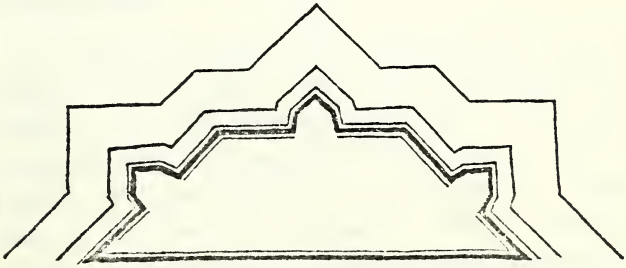
Very sincerely yours

JAMES CLARK.

Mr. Goring.

On another page, will be found a fac-simile of the address of an old letter now in possession of the annotator of this volume, on which the ink is as black and glossy as if written yesterday, notwithstanding it was written in 1782.

There are many descriptions of the Old Fort extant, and although very much in error as to the outlines of the work, the late Dr. Hough, is entitled to the credit of having been the most accurate both in plan and description. In fact Dr. Hough, followed the plan sketched by the late Col. F. R. Hassler, which though evidently drawn somewhat hurriedly is much superior to any which have been published



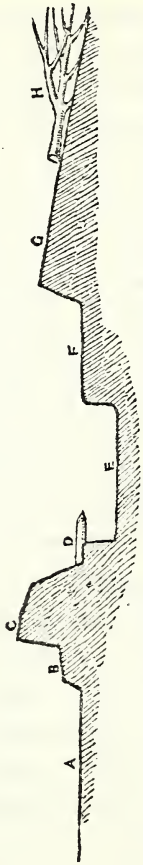
PLAN OF THE OLD FORT.

since. Indeed a sketch of the fortifications, as they appear in a late History of Jefferson County published a few years since by, as I am told, a Philadelphia house, are grossly inaccurate.

The outline sketch here given, is from a survey recently made by Rev. S. W. Strowger of Cape Vincent, whose map of that portion of Carleton Island is not only accurate but artistic. From his measurements the writer drew the ground plan, which is perfectly accurate in outline, as well as section, and made the attempt at a restoration, which is of course only an approach to the actual appearance of the fort when first built. It is of course easy to locate the exact situation of the barracks by chimneys yet standing, and by the ruins of those which have fallen, so that the cut, however, inartistically drawn will serve to aid the imagination in picturing to the mind its former appearance. The view restored is made from inside the glacis opposite the north salient looking south.

As elsewhere stated, the fort occupied three-eighths of an octagon, extending from the cliff on, which it was built, and facing southwest. The rear was protected by a rampart of earth, a ditch, an outer parapet of stone, and in all probability, a strong abatis at the foot of the glacis. In the center of each face of the rampart midway between the salients

was a strong bastion calculated to mount four guns. There are three of these bastions.



ELEVATION.—*A*, Terreplein; *B*, Banquette; *C*, Parapet; *D*, Fraise; *E*, Ditch; *F*, Covert-way; *G*, Glacis; *H*, Abatis.

The ditch was cut in the limestone rock which here lies in regular strata varying in thickness from two

to five inches, to a depth of nearly five feet, and averaging twenty-four feet wide. The scarp was vertical, and was protected by a strong *cheveaux de frize* of cedar posts, pointed, and extending horizontally about four feet beyond the berm, held in position by the earth of the rampart.

The counterscarp was also vertical, and beyond it extended a *covert way,* about the same width of the ditch. The outer parapet was of stone about four feet in height without a *banquette*, and the glacis extended in a gentle slope of several rods, terminating no doubt in a strong abatis.* The parapet and glacis was undoubtedly built of the stone quarried from the ditch, as also were the chimneys for the barracks. There are no evidences to show that the ditch was protected by curtains, but it was enfiladed along each angle by guns in the bastions.

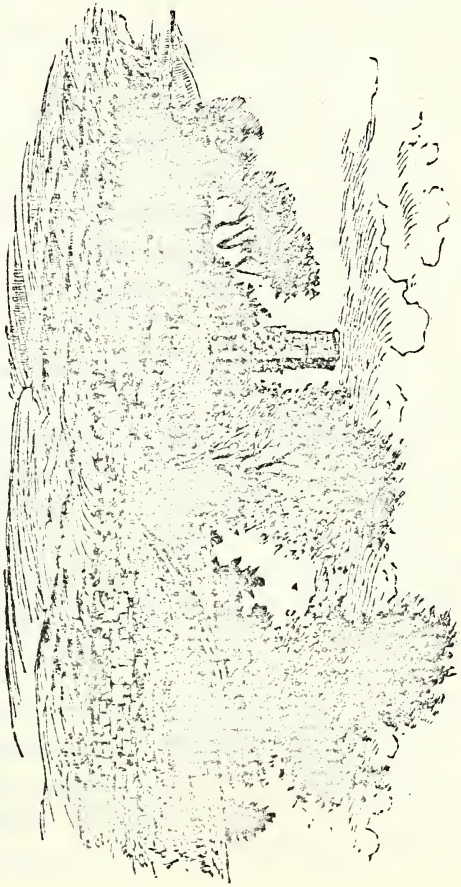
The rampart was a strong earthwork with banquette and having a gun mounted at a point between each bastion and salient. Judging from the height of the parapet, which is still so perfect in places as to be accurately measured, the earthwork was not less than seven feet in height, and probably more, and of proportionate thickness. The guns were evidently mounted *en-barbette* and protected by gabions.

* A letter from the assistant engineer, Lieut. Glennie, to Gen. Haldimand, in 1781, refers to the abatis.—ED.

The indications are that a sally-port led to the rear and thence to the covert-way at a point near the east salient. There were evidently strong gates at opposite points near the bluff, from the fact that until within a few years the timbers which supported the bridges over the ditch were to be seen, and in fact one or two of them were in place to within a period of six or seven years. From the gates roadways led, one down to the peninsula at the head of the island, and the other to the bank of the river to the northwest of the fort. As will be seen from the cuts, several of the old chimneys are yet standing, while heaps of rubbish clearly indicate where others stood. What has been supposed by some to be magazines in the face of the cliff on the southwest, were evidently bomb-proofs.

Just how the front of the fort along the face of the cliff, which was then not less than sixty feet in height,—though now much crumbled away,—was fortified was not clear. It is evident that a strong stone wall lined the edge of the cliff, and that may have been reënforced by a strong stockade and earthworks, but if so nothing now remains to show it. It is plain, however, that heavy guns covered the peninsula below and protected the stores, shipyard,[1] and shipping, and there was also mounted some guns on the peninsula, at two prominent points to serve

as water batteries. The well, magazine and other points, are fairly indicated, and a chimney yet stands near the bank of the river northwest of the fort, where it is fairly presumable the hospital was located.



THE LONE CHIMNEY ON THE POINT.—(From the grounds of the "Utica Club.")

A military engineer of to-day would be puzzled to designate the system after which this fortification was built. The bastions are evidently after Vauban's third system, but vary from it in their angles, which are nearer those of Coehorn. In the construction of the parapet Vauban is entirely lost sight of, while the improved system of Cormontaigne, takes its place; in other points it would seem as though the old English system predominated. The probability is, that Lieut. Twiss, had been instructed in the various systems then in vogue, the most prominent of which in his time were Coehorn, Vauban, and Cormontaigne, and adapted from either or all of them such points as he saw fit, and modified them to suit the situation and the nature of the ground to be fortified, and the nature and extent of the protection required. Be that as it may, the work itself shows that it was constructed by no novice, even if we did not know as we now do, that Lieut. Twiss was General Burgoyne's "Chief Engineer," and afterwards became, as Lord Cornwallis expressed it several years later, "The best we have."

The only criticism to be fairly made, is in the location of the fort which, looking at it in the light of these days, does not seem to have warranted the trouble and expense of construction. As a defensive point it was useless, and could only have served to protect

the interests immediately under its guns. It was of no strategic importance whatever. It served its purpose, however, and it was admirably chosen, so far as certain interests were concerned. No better point for the building of vessels and gun boats, and as a stopping place for traders and their goods on the way to Niagara, could have been selected. At this point the change took place. The labored transportation by Durham boats and batteaux up the rapids of the St. Lawrence, from Montreal, ceased here, and vessels took it up unloading again at Niagara river to the "carrying place," where Lewiston now stands.

How little do we of to-day, realize the difficulties that beset the pioneer of those days. We who ride on palace cars, over the "carrying places," or plow the same waters in steamers that are themselves palaces. Think for a moment you who can receive a bill of goods, in a few hours from New York, or in a few days from London or Paris, that it took nearly a year to send for and receive an invoice of goods at Carleton Island from London. Think of the toil to get them up from Montreal, then the shipping to Niagara, then by boat to the "carrying place," then overland to Lake Erie, and then another long voyage,—long for those days—to Detroit, and on to Mackinaw. Verily it is tiresome to think of, with all the rush

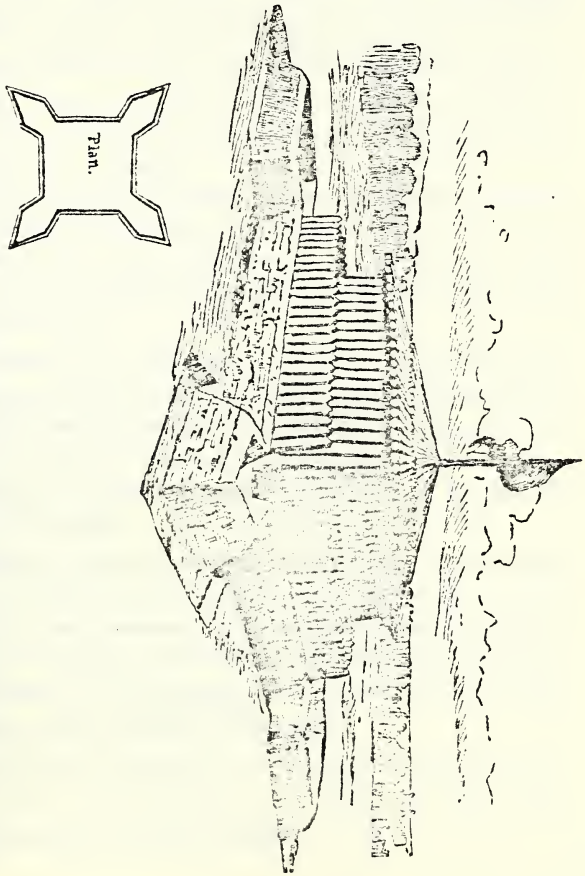
and stir of trade around us, and with the whirl and turmoil consequent upon a watering season among the Thousand Islands of the St. Lawrence river.

As a fitting close to this chapter, which has dealt so largely upon fortifications, we insert the following plan and brief description of a fortification, the outlines of which are yet to be seen, on Six Town Point in the town of Henderson, Jefferson County. With the exception of Fort Frontenac, this was the only fort ever built by the French in this vicinity. The sketches are by the writer, both plan, and elevation; but he is indebted to Dr. Hough, for the descriptive text.

"In 1756, considerable bodies of troops were sent from France, and in May, the Marquis de Montcalm, Gen. Bourlamaque, two engineers, and an army of 1,350 regulars, 1,500 Canadians, and 250 Indians ascended the river to Fort Frontenac, [Kingston] and M. de Villers*, with 500 men established a Post of Observation on Six Town Point, in the present town of Henderson, Jefferson County, the outlines of which may be still plainly traced. It was square, built of upright timbers, bastioned at the corners, and almost hidden from view by surrounding trees and bushes. At that period it was an important Post."

* [M de Villers, was a distinguished captain in the French Marine service.—Ed.]

The writer visited the locality some years ago, and although quite large trees now cover the area once occupied by the fortification, its outlines are yet distinctly visible; and although our knowledge regard-



OLD FRENCH FORT (1756)—Six Town Point, Henderson Harbor, Jefferson Co., N. Y.

ing it is very limited, it is one of the few remaining evidences of a most interesting period in our early history.[2]

[1] During 1774–5 it is ascertained that there were two small vessels built at Carleton Island,—the sloops Charity and Caldwell,* each carrying a small armament but employed principally in conveying goods and military stores from the island to Niagara. Both these vessels were made use of by St. Leger, in transporting his troops and supplies from the island to Oswego, during his advance on Fort Stanwix.

Later the Ontario, Haldimand, Missisauga, and several others were built, together with several gunboats the names of which are not known. The Ontario, Haldimand, and Mississauga, were heavily armed, and served the purpose of vessels of war, as well as commercial craft.

The wrecks of two moderately sized hulks are still to be seen in North Bay, Carleton Island, when the water is still, which are supposed to have formed a part of the fleet constructed there; and there is but little doubt that this is the case, from the fact that the early settlers along the St. Lawrence observed them, previous to the war of 1812.—ED.]

[2] To give a clearer appreciation of that period in our early history when the French fort and stockade on Six Town Point was built, it is only necessary for the student of American History to recall the fact that it was built only two years later than Braddock's defeat, and the building of Fort Necessity by George Washington, and his handful of Virginians.

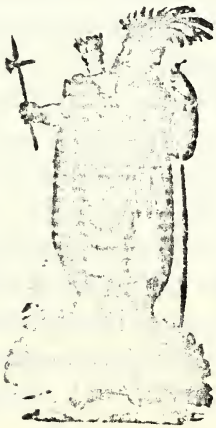
Since the above paragraph was penned, the writer has ascertained beyond a doubt that Sieur de Villiers, the officer who

* [By some writers called the "Colville."]

built the stockade there mentioned, was the identical officer to whom George Washington, then a Colonel of Virginia militia, surrendered Fort Necessity scarcely two years previous.—ED.]

[3] The "Mr. Macomb" here mentioned, was, in all probability, the Alexander Macomb, who in after years made the great purchase of lands from the Land Commissioners of New York. The tract embraced the greater part of Franklin, nearly the whole of St. Lawrence, the whole of Jefferson and Lewis, and a part of Oswego counties, including all the islands in the St. Lawrence fronting the purchase, except Carleton, and Long Sault. The whole was estimated to contain 3,670,715 acres, and was known as the "Macomb Purchase."

Macomb's application to purchase this tract, was made in 1791; previous to that time, he had been a fur trader at Detroit, and it was while engaged in that occupation, that he had his "silver works" stolen at Carleton Island. Afterward he became a prosperous and wealthy merchant in New York but was finally ruined by speculation.—ED.]



CHAPTER VII.

CARLETON ISLAND IN 1821–22. ITS INDUSTRIES AT THAT TIME. CARLETON ISLAND NOW AND ITS PROSPECTS FOR THE FUTURE. CONCLUSION.

AS elsewhere observed, the State of New York, in its cession to Macomb, reserved Carleton Island. This was on account of its supposed importance as a military point; and, indeed, it would seem that the idea clung with some pertinacity to the military brain of the government even down to the days of the Rebellion; for it is a fact,—though not generally known, perhaps,—that a couple of prominent engineer officers of the army visited the island in 1864, to report upon its fitness as a basis for military and naval operations. Thus far, at least, did the history of a century repeat itself, the material difference however, lying in the fact that the officers sent by Gen. Haldimand, made choice of the locality, and those sent by the miltary authorities of the United States reported adversely.

The first step toward the acquirement of any realty on Carleton Island, was the issue of a bounty, or class right for military services, to Wm. Richardson; a sergeant in the New York line during the Revolution. Two men, Matthew Watson and Wm. Guilland became the purchasers of this right, and located it on Carleton Island, Oct. 2, 1786. Watson purchased Guilland's right, and at his death he left three children, John, Margaret and Jane. John and Jane died leaving no issue, and Margaret became the owner. She married one Jacob Ten Broeck, and these sold their right to one Charles Smyth, who finally applied to the legislature to have his claim located, and also applied for the purchase of the remainder of the island. Smyth sold to Abijah Mann, and on March 2, 1821, an act was passed, directing a patent to be issued for 500 acres from the west end of the island On the 22d of May, 1848, Abijah Mann deeded the 500 acres above mentioned to Charles Isadore Pluche, from whom Col. S. B. Hance, of Cape Vincent, derived his title. Col. Hance having disposed of a half interest in the lands to Henry Folger, Esq., of Kingston, they are now joint owners in the tract. But of this more hereafter.

Squatters early located on the island, and when Col. Hassler surveyed it in 1823 many persons had become residents and a large amount of business was

done. At this time, there was a plat of land on the east shore containing about thirty acres, of old improved soil, known then as to-day, by the name of the "King's Garden." Here instead of on the peninsula at the head of the island, as Hough intimates, is most likely the place where "vegetables were grown for the use of the garrison." In 1821, Avery Smith, a Canadian began lumbering here, and business grew so rapidly that in a very short time the population had increased to nearly two hundred souls. In 1823, there was here a school, and post-office; and James Estes kept a "tavern." In the fort, dwellings had been built to the old chimney stacks from whence the barracks had been burned. The teacher was Prof. Shumway, who also filled the office of justice of the peace. David Briggs kept a shoe-shop, and Abijah Lewis, James Wood, and a Mr. Shaw were merchants, so that it would seem from the chronicles of those days, that Carleton Island sustained a busy and flourishing settlement, which undoubtedly declined with the lumbering interests, and the growing importance of the adjacent village of Cape Vincent.

It is highly probable, too, that during this period of Island prosperity the remains of the Old Fort suffered their greatest spoliation. The ravelins were demolished to make room for cottage door-yards, the

cheveaux de frize was cut away for fence posts and firewood, loads of stone from parapet and glacis were taken away for various purposes, the great well became a receptacle for all manner of rubbish until now it is nearly filled. One by one the chimneys have crumbled and fallen or have been overthrown in mere wantonness until but few remain standing. The moat, carved deep in the Trenton limestone is as perfect as when the laborers under the direction of Lieut. Twiss had completed their arduous task of quarrying the stone therefrom. It is hoped that some steps will be taken to restore the best of the remaining chimneys, and rebuild the parapet where it is crumbled,—both tasks easy of accomplishment,—and thus preserve the most notable landmark of Northern New York.

For many years, the Thousand Islands, of the St. Lawrence river were the favorite resort of a few people who thoroughly appreciated them, for the purposes of fishing and hunting, and for general recreation. Gradually it dawned upon the sportsmen of the city, the seeker after rest, recreation, and health, the tourist and traveller, that these islands afforded in a superlative degree, all necessary adjuncts and environments that nature could supply, to equip one of the great watering places of the world, and that idea once rooted, has been constantly increasing

in growth for more than a decade, and though it has reached grand proportions, it has but begun.

At first, as was natural enough, the rush was toward the centre of the great river Archipelago, and islands were purchased, cottages built and in some instances palaces; great hotels sprang up as if by magic, societies, companies, and corporations purchased and laid out extensive grounds, hamlets, and villages, and cities almost, of summer residences grew up; and to-day the islands in the American channel at least, are simply a gorgeous panorama of camp and cottage; and the quiet restful vacation so attractive to the careworn man of business, is no longer to be had in the busy marts of island resort.

It was not long, however, ere the superior advantages of Carleton Island as a place of resort became apparent to thoughtful observant men, whose real object was health, rest, and recreation, and of successful angling for the gamy bass, the pickerel and the muscallonge. These advantages, although but slowly making their impress upon the public mind,—though surely and firmly—are evident to the most casual observer, who will bestow a few moments thought upon the subject.

Situated in the centre of the American channel, with a broad reach of navigable water on either hand, deep, pure, and clear as crystal itself, and fresh from

the great basin of Lake Ontario, bringing cool, bracing breezes, full of vitality, life-giving, free from malaria of every description, as a place where good health may be regained and retained, it has no superior. Easy of access, by steamer, connecting with railway lines to every part of the country whether in the United States or the Dominion, only three miles from the railway station at Cape Vincent, and within easy reach of Kingston, Ont., there to meet the great steamboat lines and the Grand Trunk and Pembroke railways, daily communication with every portion of the Thousand Islands and the great Parks, and literally surrounded on every hand by the finest fishing grounds on the river, this is indeed a most desirable location.

At least this is what a large party of Utican's think, who becoming enamored of the locality made a purchase of a plat of ground, and organized themselves into the "Carleton Island Club." This was in 1870; and three years later they bought additional grounds, and now possess a most delightful, as well as valuable property. The "Navasink Club" of Ithaca, purchased grounds here in 1872, and subsquently sold to Mr. Jas. T. Morrison of Ithaca, who still retains the premises. In 1876, Williams Bros. of Bome, purchased lots, and have erected fine cottages, and the same year E. M. Knight of Seneca Co., N. Y., purchased a lot, and so also did Hon. C. M. Dennison.

All these have elegant cottages which together with the club houses, present decidedly a "settled" appearance. These are all located on the peninsula at the head of the island, and other cottages will soon be erected there.

Immediately adjoining the ruins of the Old Fort, and lying in a belt across the island from one shore to the other, a plat of ground embracing nearly or quite one hundred acres has been surveyed and mapped for Messrs. Folger & Hance. This area is traversed by ample streets and broad avenues, and is subdivided into spacious lots.

Some of the finest situations, all things considered, to be had anywhere throughout the whole extent of the Thousand Island group are to be found here; and the rapidity with which lots are being called for and selected argues well for the future of Carleton Island. Indeed, there is no more desirable place for a summer residence to be found. The adjacent farms will always furnish in abundance every variety of their productions for the table, while the choicest fish are had for the catching.

The cool breezes from the lake, the purity of the surrounding atmosphere and the absence of marshes and stagnant water, are highly unfavorable to insect growth, and in consequence the musquito pest is unknown.

It is not hard to predict the future of Carleton Island. In a short time an elegant hotel will grace one of the most delightful sites on the river, and cottages will spring up everywhere. The great passenger steamers will make daily trips to its wharves, and where now is but a succession of grove and field, will stand a succession of summer residences.

The island cottager will look at the ruins of Old Fort Haldimand and think, perchance, of the wonderful contrast which the years have brought about. The Indian warrior encamps here no more. No longer are the groves of the island made hideous by the war-whoop as the war-songs are chanted and the scalp-dance indulged in. No longer do they prepare for a raid on Stanwix or Wyoming, Cherry Valley or Fort Edward. Some of those who once graced this island with their presence, gained "high places" of honor and renown in army and navy, and their names live after them; but they never once dreamed of the Thousand Islands of to-day, much less of the Carleton Island as it is ere long, to be.

Reader, our brief, and by no means unpleasant task is finished, and the writer hopes that you may have gathered up a few grains of interest, and whiled away an hour or two with sufficient profit and satis-

faction to redeem them from the charge of being wholly lost.